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ABSTRACT

This study documents the racial attitudes and desires of middle class Negroes in greater New York City area, and explores integration versus separatism preference in the areas of schools, employment, housing, and social relationships. Middle socioeconomic status adults aged 30-55 and comprising samples of 100 each in the Bronx and Harlem were interviewed; most respondents were born in the South but had been living in New York for many years. The groups were somewhat different demographically, that from Harlem being slightly higher in financial and educational attainment. Relating to employment, housing, and schools, data for both groups showed a firm commitment to integration; in the area of close personal primary group social relationships, however, there was a desire for contacts on a single race basis almost exclusively. Responses showed a great awareness of current racial problems but little activity in civil-rights groups. In the acceptance level of whites by Negroes, there was a downhill trend verbalized relating to the past five years. The study findings are considered to indicate a shift in goals from the integrationist views current in 1957; both lower-class and middle-class Negroes displayed a pride in being black and a strong wish to maintain an ethnic identity. A system of cultural pluralism, a pattern held to be already in force with most other groups, is contended to be the goal orientation of blacks. (Author/RJ)

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ATTITUDES OF MIDDLE CLASS NEGROES TOWARD SEPARATISM IN NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONS

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ATTITUDES OF MIDDLE CLASS NEGROES TOWARD SEPARATISM IN NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONS

ABSTRACT

This study endeavors to document racial attitudes and desires of middle class Negroes living in both an integrated and a non-integrated neighborhood in the greater New York City area.

The investigation explores integration vs. separatism preference in the functional areas of schools, employment, and housing, as well as in social relationships.

One hundred adults of middle socio-economic status in the Bronx, and 100 in Harlem between the ages of 30-55, were interviewed. There were slightly more females than males in the study. Most respondents were born in the south but had been living in New York for many years. The Harlem group had been in their immediate neighborhood much longer than the Bronx group. Probably the greatest difference was in the marital status as over half the Harlem group were single, widowed, or separated; whereas only 25 per cent of the Bronx group were. The second largest difference was that the heads of households in the Bronx were almost all male, but almost half in Harlem were female. Occupationally there were more blue collar workers in the Bronx and more professionals in Harlem. Logically related to this is the finding of slightly higher educational and financial attainment in Harlem. In both areas only 10 per cent of the respondents were unemployed homemakers. In summary, the groups were somewhat different demographically.

The data for both groups showed a firm commitment to integration as the course preferred for this country to follow in employment, housing and schools, as opposed to the setting up of all black institutions within the framework of the general society, or the forming of

a geographically separate all-black state. In the area of close personal primary group social relationships, however, there was a desire for contacts to be on a single race basis almost exclusively.

The responses showed a great awareness of current racial problems but little activity in civil rights activities. The few who were active usually belonged to a professional organization or club engaged in some degree of social action, rather than to one of the national civil rights groups. There was a downhill trend verbalized, in the acceptance level of whites by Negroes over the past 5 years and most of the respondents felt that violence is inevitable to obtain eventual justice. In this respect they felt the riots of the past few years were of some benefit.

This study - expressing a wish for integration, nevertheless, seemed to indicate a shift in goals from the integrationist view of the Negro middle class as described in 1957 by E. Franklin Frazier. He wrote of the middle class then, as trying to imitate whites, and as rejecting their lower class brothers. There seems to be a change today, as indicated by this sample. Both groups displayed a pride in being black and a strong wish to maintain an ethnic identity. "Black" is the label they preferred to be called by as opposed to "Negro" and they verbalized a need to build up black leadership in the economic system, to increase knowledge of black heritage, etc., and yet to move freely throughout the general society on an integrated basis. What they seemed to be describing was a system of cultural pluralism, the pattern already in force with most other groups in this country.

CHAPTER I

DEFINING THE PROBLEM OF THIS STUDY

Historically, the "American Dream," for black Americans, has been to achieve a state of full functional equality in these United States. The means of fulfilling the dream was logically through integration: integration in schools, in jobs, in housing. The formula was clear; full integration would lead to full equality.

The reality, however, was a far different story. More than one hundred years have passed since the dream took shape; years of waiting, hoping, working. Laws were passed, enhancing the hope. A little progress was made but the dream remained just that--a dream. Frustrations within the people grew. They talked more and more about the dream as the years passed by; whether it was wisdom or folly to hold on to it. What of the alternatives to it? By the mid 1960's there was a marked split in black America's goals. Some said "give up the dream--we don't need to integrate to achieve our rights. Let's establish our own institutions--completely separate. This is the only way we can achieve a state of dignity as men. We'll establish our own power base and through this--we will achieve equality." Still others, also reacting to the sting of chronic rejection said "not only should we have our separate institutions--but let us separate entirely; establishing our own land area geographically as well as functionally apart." A third group--no less disillusioned still clung to the hope of the dream. "Integration hasn't worked because it hasn't been worked at hard enough. Integration is still the only workable method--we see changes occurring now; we must redouble our efforts."

These were the cries of the decade of the 60's. This was and still is the three-way split among black Americans as we enter the 70's. Further confusing the issue are the news makers and their competitive needs for headline events. Those individuals, black and white, advocating extreme points of view, or advocating violence, or espousing hatred; or those engaged in dramatic types of protest activities, are thrust into the forefront of the daily media output. Each "spokesman," having his day before the television cameras or in the press, claims to speak for the true feelings of the "vast majority." Yet they say different things.

But what of the people themselves? What do they want? With which of the many points of view do most agree? Personal observations and discussions by this writer with many people over a long period of time brought no clear answer to these queries. The same people, sitting before their television sets can be seen nodding in agreement to a viewpoint they had disclaimed at an earlier date. Or they might be seen agreeing to some or all of widely differing viewpoints offered in the same panel discussion. It is clear that there exists today a close feeling of brotherhood among most Negroes. There is a heightened reaction--largely due to television it is thought--which has brought home, the problems, frustrations and angers of black Americans across the country on a scale never witnessed before, and with a constancy and anguish that cannot be ignored. No Negro can sit in his living room, watching the documented horror of a riot in a distant place without reacting in a personal and intense way. Most Negroes know the reasons for riots. Most sympathize and identify with the rioters because to some degree they have all experienced the frustrations that caused them. But some of the same sympathizers will nevertheless blame the rioters--others won't.

In another area, is there a conflict of goals in the parent who prefers to live in an integrated neighborhood but sends his child to an all black college? What about the new black consciousness--the pride in being black, the overdue revelations of black culture. Is this pride compromised if one holds to an integration theory? What do blacks want anyway? Whites ask this question of blacks--but more importantly, blacks are trying to answer this question for themselves.

Sociologists, needless to say, are no less interested in such questions. Their use of more precise terminology, through constant usage and empirical research over prolonged periods, allows for the growth of theory, knowledge or insight. Reference is made to the work of such scholars in Chapter II, but for the purpose of defining the study, two of them are mentioned here.

E. Franklin Frazier's "Black Bourgeoisie"

In 1957, the Negro sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier, published a study of the Negro middle class, entitled Black Bourgeoisie. An award-winning book, it was the first, and remains to date, the only in-depth study of the Negro middle class.[1]

Frazier exhibited little sympathy, but great understanding of middle class Negroes, who he described as being largely false and pretentious in their behavior. He asserted that the black bourgeoisie (or middle class) were--in 1957--in a state of limbo "without cultural roots in either the Negro world with which it refuses to identify, or the white world which refuses to permit . . . it to its share of life."[2] He felt the black bourgeoisie lived in a state of isolation and hence, created a world of make-believe. The make-believe symbols related to unrealistic status symbols such as references to Negro businesses which Frazier discounted as non-existent, and the building up of stories of wealth and artistic achievement. In an earlier work, The Negro Family in the United States, he described the middle class as "functioning in a cultural vacuum largely devoted to fatuities."[3]

In Black Bourgeoisie, Frazier traced the development of the Negro middle class from the period following emancipation when there emerged the first generations of educated Negroes. These were the by-products of missionary education and, "they had a sense of responsibility toward the Negro masses and identified themselves with the struggles of the masses to overcome the handicaps of ignorance and poverty . . . . They occupied a dignified position within the Negro community and were respected."[1] But this group consisted of a very small number of professionals. By 1900, nine tenths of all Negroes were still in the south with sixty per cent deriving their living from agriculture.[2] It was the northward migration which began after World War I which started the real urbanization of the American Negro and by 1930, in both north and south, sixty per cent depended on occupations apart from the soil.[3] In his analysis of the middle class (1954), Frazier reported that between 1930 and 1950, in southern and border cities, "the black bourgeoisie constituted about one sixth of the Negro population, while in northern cities, it was a little more than a fifth.[4] It continued to increase to its approximate level of 38 per cent of the total Negro population in 1966.

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[1] E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe, Illinois: Illinois Free Press, 1957).

[2] Ibid., p. 27.

[3] E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Family in the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), p. 98.

It was Frazier's contention that the middle class as represented in his study - the Negroes of the late 40's and early 50's, - were different from their first generation, missionary-educated predecessors. "The single factor that has dominated the mental outlook of the black bourgeoisie has been its obsession with the struggle for status."[1] He asserts that "they had no interest in the 'liberation' of Negroes except as it affected their own status or acceptance by the white community . . . . They wanted to forget the Negro's past, and they have attempted to conform to the behavior and values of the white community in the most minute details."[2] He referred to them as "exaggerated Americans." Nevertheless, in finding themselves rejected by the white world, and in turn, rejecting the Negro masses, they turned to the creation of a make-believe world - a world of self-delusion.

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[1] E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe, Illinois: Illinois Free Press, 1957), p. 194.

[2] Ibid., p. 42.

[3] Ibid., p. 43.

[4] Ibid., p. 44.

First there was the myth of "Negro business." Frazier cites this as "one of the most striking indications of the unreality of the (Negro's) social world . . ."[3] He felt the black bourgeoisie had created an unreal faith in the importance of Negro business when in fact they had no part in the economic structure of the country or of the economic life of Negroes themselves. He described the role of the Negro press in perpetuating this and other myths which made up the make-believe world. For example in the area of achievements, "the petty achievements are reported as if . . . of great importance. The appointments to minor positions are reported as great achievements.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

In the Negro press, police magistrates become judges, etc."[1] Magazines would feature articles on "the ten richest Negroes in America," but the list reported included "multi-millionaires" who were kings of the "policy racket," Father Divine, and a Negro "capitalist" in Durham who has a "$25,000 home and draws an annual salary of $20,000."[2]

Frazier, continuing with his attack on the press which was in his view, the chief propagator of the myth, wrote of how Ebony magazine carried regular stories on "Business" concerning success stories of acquired wealth. In one issue there was a picture of a man in front of his office which, the reader was informed, "is near Wall Street."[3] Negroes living in humble circumstances in Europe were reported to their status-hungry brothers back home in glowing accounts. Their homes were often pictured as "richly furnished chateaux which are the meeting place for European intellectuals." The performances of Negro artists abroad "are generally misrepresentations . . . ."[4]

Frazier wrote that the delusion of power was another escape route for Negroes. "The positions of power . . . they occupy in the Negro world often enable them to act autocratically toward other Negroes, especially when they have the support of the white community."[5] In holding positions in the white community the delusion is at its peak, and even though "their position may be only a 'token' of the integration of the Negro into American life, they will speak and act as if they were a part of the power structure . . ."[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 151.

[2] Ibid., p. 152.

[3] Ibid., p. 154.

[4] Ibid., p. 160.

[5] Ibid., p. 190.

In summary, Frazier attributes the behavior of his black bourgeoisie to a compensatory or defensive technique created to offset feelings of inferiority and rejection. They devoted their lives to "trivialities," placing great emphasis on their social life or "society." "Through delusions of wealth and power they have sought identification with white America which continues to reject them. But these delusions have left them frustrated because they are unable to escape from the emptiness and futility . . . ."[2]

Frazier's work, widely acclaimed by many social scientists, has been criticized by some on the question of adequate samplings of middle class Negroes with respect to attributes which could be treated statistically. In an updated preface to his book (1962) he wrote the following defense of this point. "The majority of the materials upon which this study was based were materials on thousands of Negro families and many Negro communities which I had collected during studies over the years. For . . . this study, additional materials were collected from newspapers and magazines and from students from middle class families. In many cases, as a participant - observer, I collected case materials in the same manner as an anthropologist gathers materials for studies."[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 190.

[2] Ibid., p. 195.

Despite this question regarding Frazier's research method, his work continues to be read as a classic description of the Negro middle class of the 1940's and 1950's. It is too important a work to go unchallenged by empirical testing. At least one can test to see if the spirit or the description applied to an earlier generation, applies also to their successors. To the extent that one can operationalize Frazier's concept of the middle class Negro's identification with white America, it is possible to examine a Negro middle class sample of the 1960's to see if their aspirations are the same. This is, therefore, a major purpose of this study.

Its execution is best achieved within a theoretical framework, where terms carry more determinate meanings and which permits findings to be related to scientific knowledge.

Gordon's Theory of Assimilation

The sociologist Milton Gordon has constructed a paradigm of the various stages which, he maintains, groups pass through in minority-majority group relations. He does not think of assimilation in the total sense as Yinger and others define it, where the minority group is completely merged with the majority and no longer retains its former identity.[2] Instead he labels even the first step of behavior adaptation by the minority group to that of the dominant group, as assimilation--or, more specifically, behavioral assimilation. This stage is generally referred to as acculturation and Gordon also makes this acknowledgment.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 13.

[2] J. Milton Yinger, A Minority Group in American Society, (New York: McGraw-Hill), p. 78.

Gordon's theoretical process is outlined in Table I.

As Table I clearly shows, the initial phase of movement by a new group into the core group is when they change their behavior or cultural patterns to those of the host society (acculturation). Elsewhere in his book (published in 1964) Gordon states that achievement of this first level of assimilation varies according to social class. He makes the following statement regarding Negroes, "Although few, if any, African cultural survivals are to be found among American Negroes, lower-class Negro life with its derivations from slavery, post-Civil War discrimination, both rural and urban poverty, and enforced isolation from the middle-class white world, is still at a considerable distance from the American cultural norm. Middle and upper-class Negroes, on the other hand, are acculturated to American core culture."[2]

Assuming a validity to Gordon's approach, it may be said that cultural or behavioral assimilation exist at present with middle class Negroes, and it is this writer's opinion that the same is true for the low income Negro as well--for the same reasons as outlined by Gordon

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[1] Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 71.

[2] Ibid., p. 76.

TABLE I. Milton Gordon's seven-stage process by which groups become assimilated[a]

Subprocess or Condition	Type or Stage of Assimilation	Special Term
1. Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioral assimilation	Acculturation
2. Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on primary group level	Structural assimilation	None
3. Large-scale inter-marriage	Marital assimilation	Amalgamation
4. Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society	Identification assimilation	None
5. Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation	None
6. Absence of discrimination	Behavioral receptional assimilation	None
7. Absence of value and power conflict	Civic assimilation	None

[a] Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 71.

above; that African cultural ties were cut off almost completely. There may be differences in the degree of acculturation by lower income groups as illustrated by food habits, but these are based on American economic factors, not African heritage; and these differences persist in varying degrees through all levels of Negro society. But dress, language, religion, etc., in all social classes, resemble closely enough those of the dominant group.

The second stage of Gordon's theory is that of structural assimilation which he describes as "large scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of (the) host society, on a primary group level."[1] This seven step theoretical process is not automatic, and as Gordon states, this first step "may take place when none of the other types of assimilation occurs . . . . this condition of 'acculturation only' may continue indefinitely."[2]

While cultural assimilation is likely to be the first stage, Gordon goes on to say that subsequent steps may occur outside the order as shown in his paradigm. However, once structural assimilation has occurred "all other types will naturally follow. Structural assimilation then, is the keystone . . . (to) assimilation."[3] With regard to Negroes, Gordon feels that this keystone process has not yet occurred. But Frazier, as pointed out earlier, believed - if his terms may be translated into Gordon's - that Negro middle class individuals as he knew them, were striving for just this state of affairs.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

The Problem in Theoretical Terms

The problem that emerges at this point is conceptual for, judging from personal observation, the term "primary group level," to which structural assimilation refers, is a term having a serious ambiguity. For example, the friendly conversation or friendships which occur in one's neighborhood, or at work during the "coffee break" or at lunch, suggest one type of primary group contact, whereas the people one invites to dinner or to a party suggests another. In the former situation, there seems to be some element of determinism which limits one's choice of association. In a sense the employer, by the simple act of hiring, chooses to a degree, one's friends on the job. But in the latter situation, there is no limitation imposed on the individual in the selection of his friends. Once a person (in American society) extends such an invitation, reciprocation is expected. And to the extent that the process is repeated, one establishes a quality of relationships which theoretically should be distinguished from friendships which derive from the more structured situations as found on the job or by virtue of one's residence on a particular block.

One of the tasks of this study is therefore to determine if middle class Negroes do, in behavior, make such a distinction, and to determine their preference for separatism or for integration in their pre-determined primary groups and in their self-selected ones. If there is demonstrated an association with whites in both situations then we shall have empirical evidence as to whether or not the process of structural assimilation as described by Gordon is either taking place or is aspired to by the middle class group sampled.

The Limitations of the Study

The Negro Middle Class. There are over 22 million Negroes in the United States, of whom 38 per cent reported incomes of over $7,000 in 1966.[1] The impact of this group on the assimilation process which this study concerns itself with however, far outweighs its numerical strength, as it is this group that holds whatever degree of power that exists among Negroes. The poverty level Negro is not in a position to decide where he will live. He does not have as many options as the middle income person to make decisions in schooling, employment, etc. The decade of the 60's has shown the beginnings of a struggle to overthrow this status of powerlessness among the poor. They have become more angry, vocal, and active than ever before and they are being listened to more than ever before. But they are still trapped by their economics. Middle class Negroes do not constitute a power base for the black community either. In fact they are not as organized as the poor at the present time. They too, are victimized from cradle to grave by "the system" of discrimination and prejudice. The middle class

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[1] Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 17.

Negro on the other hand, has somewhat more freedom to "shop around" for jobs, schools, etc., and to move physically from place to place if he desires.

And so because it is only those Negroes who are above the poverty level, who can make even limited decisions regarding the functional areas of life in this country, it is this group--the so-called Negro middle class, that is the focus of this investigation.

Defining the term "Middle Class." The term middle class is used in this text more for its literary convenience than for its precision in describing the population. The precise term is middle socio-economic status. Social class per se is a rather amorphous label because its determination depends not only on the factual circumstances of one's education, income, etc., but also on one's life style, aspirations and values. Finally, it depends also on acceptance and assignment by others to a particular category of social prestige. Concerning this latter point, Arnold Rose makes a statement applicable to efforts made to work out social class levels for this study population. Negro professionals, for example, whose socio-economic rating would place them in the lower echelon of the upper class, simply did not fit when matched against the textbook life-styles of this upper class stratum. Nor were they accepted into this stratum by whites. Rose's point is that the class structures of all castes are not comparable and he states, "On the same class level--that is assuming white and Negro individuals with the same education, occupation, income, and so on--the white person does not "look across" the caste line upon the Negro; he looks down on him."[1] This statement by Rose was made in 1944 and although the surge of events since then has brought some change in the sphere of functional opportunity, there is little evidence that attitudes of social non-acceptance by whites have changed to any notable degree. This caste system of America with regard to Negroes, as is well known, has left its mark on the Negro personality so that he is not only viewed downwardly by whites, but his life style and behavior, in turn, often reflect the lack of prestige and power he feels. Kahl describes the upper class as that of "graceful living," and stresses the point that income alone will not put a family into this class; "they must be personally accepted by the other upper class families of the community . . . . They are in the Social Register or Who's Who."[2] There are few Negroes, regardless of whether their socio-economic rating would place them in this group, who fit this description. A final vivid point on this subject is made with the following report of an actual event. A middle aged Negro couple, both college graduates with the husband earning over sixty thousand a year as a physician, were planning a wedding breakfast for their daughter. The name of a well known luxury hotel in mid-town Manhattan was suggested and although the couple knew their legal rights would allow them to use the facility they were not secure in their

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[1] Arnold Rose, The Negro in America (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), pp. 226-227.

[2] J. A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 188.

"social rights" and rejected the idea on the basis that "We'll feel more comfortable up here (Harlem) where we know we're wanted."

Social class, for any group is also extremely difficult to measure in an urban setting, other than in a very general way. Socio-economic status is more easily and accurately measured and since it constitutes the foundation from which social class measures develop, the terms are frequently used interchangeably and are utilized in this way in this report.

The geographic limitations. The sample was drawn from a northeast urban section of the country, specifically the New York City area--for reasons of convenience, largely. Despite the severe geographical limitations, however, the socio-economic characteristics of the area do argue, it is believed, for its being representative of a much broader area than just New York City. The black experience in these United States is, after all, a rather common one; and a random sample from anyone of the larger northern cities is more likely than not to be representative of the others. This point cannot be documented, however, and it is on the basis of logic and history, rather than strict scientific procedure, that the claim is made.

The focus of the research. This is not a psychological study of people's feelings or emotions. The emphasis in the interviews--which were strictly governed by the Interview Schedule--focussed on what people say they do and what they reported as their preference in Negro-white relationships in given situations. In-depth probing was used but simply to clarify meaning, rather than to reveal deep-seated emotions.[1] Interviewees were taken at their word. When one replied that he does associate with whites on the job - or that he does not, the reply was recorded. The probe which followed sought simply to ascertain whether the behavior reported was motivated by an "opportunistic" motive (e.g. "office politics"), or for what is termed in this report, a "philosophic" or "ideal" reason. In this sense the level of probing was congitive rather than emotive.

This study, in summary, is a descriptive one, of reported behavior and its rationale; its purpose being to test the contemporary accuracy of Frazier's description of middle class Negroes' aspirations, and thereby to determine what this group desires as a direction with regard to the process of assimilation.

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[1] The role of such emotions in the realm of interpersonal relations has not been decisively defined by science. This limitation then, does not necessarily weaken or impair this study.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND AND RELATED LITERATURE

A great deal has been written on the current civil rights struggle or "revolution" as it is sometimes labeled. However, only sparse attention has been given to the attitudes and goals of middle class Negroes as a separate group. In many of these studies the entire Negro population is lumped together with only token reference, if any, to the middle class; or, more often, the entire work is devoted to the "ghetto problem," the "hard core," the "culturally deprived," etc. This is understandable as the human beings fitting these labels are in a life or death struggle for survival, but the result is that the Negro middle class has been virtually by-passed in the literature. The last work in depth in this area is still the first such work; E. Franklin Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie published in 1957.[1]

Myrdal, whose work preceded Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie, wrote on the characteristics of the Negro upper class as he viewed them in 1944.[2] "Employment by public agencies, particularly federal agencies like the United States postal service, has always carried high social esteem in the Negro community and, if coupled with home ownership and education, usually puts the person in the upper class. Generally, in the absence of wealth, higher education is becoming almost an essential to upper class position. Light skin color and other white features are also associated with upper class status. This basis . . . grew up in slavery times when the white master's slave children had a better chance . . . and when house servants (were) often selected because of their 'nice' appearance." Both points are probably less true today than when written but persist to an extent. It is of interest to note that much of the middle class Bronx population in this study were civil service employees and homeowners. Myrdal also wrote of the isolation and marginal characteristics of the Negro upper class.[1] They were the leadership for the NAACP but had difficulty identifying with the masses for whom they spoke. They were, he said, the "severest critics of the Negro masses." He felt the middle class also rated education high and were comprised of stable families who prided themselves in never being in trouble with the law. They were described as "occupationally insecure and constantly striving upward," (a condition we now recognize to be peculiar to class status rather than race).

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[1] E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe, Illinois: Illinois Free Press, 1957).

[2] Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper Bros., 1944), p. 229.

In 1965 Leonard Broom wrote "there has been a discernible shift toward increased identification of middle class Negroes with the masses." He feels that Frazier's description was "exaggerated and overgeneralized."[1] Broom states that Negroes who have more than average contact with whites and who have gained some white acceptance, are the most prone to work for improvement of the race as a whole because the whites who accept them support this action, and because "their personal status in interracial circles depends in part on the status of the race."[2] The identification element may be true but the reasons for it are probably debatable.

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[1] Ibid., p. 229.

G. Franklin Edwards, a colleague of Frazier's during the latter's later years, wrote in the early 1960's of the changes in the Negro middle class. Edwards quotes from Frazier's book, saying Frazier's middle class consisted "principally of teachers, doctors, preachers, trusted persons in personal service, governmental employees, and a few business men."[3] Edwards expands this list for the period of the 50's and 60's to include the clerical, sales, and skilled occupations that had opened up since World War II, and he emphasized the growing dominance of education over social distinctions in determining class membership.

Up to date comments on the Negro social class structure are given by Billingsley who wrote in 1968, "The precariousness of upper class status is underscored by the fact that Negro professionals earn less in a lifetime than white professionals and that their wives often have to work to keep them in this status. Negro physicians . . . can count on earning less than 60 per cent of what white physicians earn in their lifetimes. Of all Negro professionals, only engineers approach equity (95 per cent) with white engineers." Billingsley also describes the line between middle and upper class as fluid and says the "two groups may be viewed as one."[1]

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[1] Leonard Broom and Norval Glenn, Transformation of the Negro American (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 180.

[2] Ibid., p. 180.

[3] G. Franklin Edwards, "Community and Class Realities," The Negro American, ed., Talcott Parsons and Kenneth Clark (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), p. 293.

To switch now to the civil rights struggle, one finds that the literature does not relate specifically to the middle class but rather, to the overall movement. Of some relevance, however, are two nationwide studies published in book form in 1963 and 1966 by the pollsters, Brink and Harris. Both surveys cut across all lines of social class, but the subject matter is closely related to the design of this research, and both are documented studies.[2]

The 1963 findings prophetically outlined the deep seated protest and revolution which was to come in the next few years. The respondents, however, (1,157 Negro men and women), wanted an end to discrimination in all its forms, and there was a clear cut commitment to non-violence. In 1966, Harris stated that "Negroes retain an abiding--and possibly unrealistic--faith in ultimate victory" indicating that they have been given "a tantalizing glimpse of what total acceptance into the mainstream of American society could mean. . . . Despite the agonies of the summer 1966, the Negro's final goal has changed not at all; over and above the piecemeal gains he has made, he still wants total integration."[1]

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[1] Andrew Billingsley, Black Families in White America (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 130.

[2] William Brink and Louis Harris, The Negro Revolution in America (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964); William Brink and Louis Harris, Black and White (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966).

Also during the same years these studies were conducted, there has been a sharp increase in the writings of those who advocate that the course of Negroes is to go it alone--to maintain all black institutions and even to seek an all black, independent, and geographically separate society in some instances. Wright,[2] Fanon,[3] Carmichael,[4] Hare,[5] Cruse,[6] W. H. Ferry,[7] and others espouse this view as does the Negro psychiatrist,

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[1] Ibid., p. 182.

[2] Nathan Wright, Jr., Black Power and Urban Unrest (New York: Hawthorne, 1967).

[3] Frantz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks (New York: Grove Press, 1967).

[4] Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1967).

[5] Nathan Hare, The Black Anglo-Saxon (New York: Marzani and Munzell, 1965).

[6] Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual (New York: Wm. Morrow, 1967).

[7] W. H. Ferry, "Farewell to Integration," The Center Magazine (Santa Barbara, California: Fund for the Republic, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions), Vol. 1, No. 3, March, 1968.

Alvin Poussaint who states that "integration . . . does not offer the mass of Negroes a solution to the problems of negative self-concept."[1] His belief is that all black institutions, including the program of the Black Muslims have far more positive and constructive effects.

Another nationwide study was published in 1968 which also cross-cut all levels of social class, and which indicated that the majority of rank and file Negro Americans might not agree with the outspoken "leaders" demanding all black institutions.[2] This was followed closely by a C. B. S. News Public Opinion Survey carried out by Opinion Research Corporation, also on a nationwide basis, and also cutting across social classes. The findings were identical; that integration remains the desire of most black Americans. The C. B. S. study described the extremists (black and white) as "siezing the debate for themselves," but in no way representing the center of the extremes. It seems clear from survey evidence that the goal of integration remains intact for most Negroes.[3]

There is one documented work commissioned by B'Nai Brith which correlates social mobility with militancy in civil rights. While this measurement alone does not show the direction in which the militants may be moving, the study has some pertinence as it may be assumed that Negroes in the upper middle class levels, and many in the lower middle class as well, are upwardly mobile people compared to their parents. The sociologist, Gary Marx, took a contrary approach. He studied three downwardly mobile groups: those of high status parents who moved either into medium or lower status occupations, and those of medium status parents who moved into lower status occupations. "In every case the percentage scoring as militant is higher than among those in the status position moved out of or the new one moved into." He also found that among the higher-prestige older, more established Negro families, the higher the prestige, the greater the militancy. His conclusions, which he does not have a real explanation for, are that both higher prestige and mobility produce militancy.[1]

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[1] Alvin Poussaint, "The Negro American: His Self-Image and Integration," The Black Power Revolt, Floyd Barbour, ed. (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1968), p. 101-102.

[2] Raymond W. Mack, Our Children's Burden (New York: Random House, 1968).

[3] Columbia Broadcasting System, White and Negro Attitudes Towards Race Related Issues and Activities (Produced by C. B. S. News, New York, 1968).

Marx first published his book in 1967 and up-dated the research two years later. He reports that his earlier conclusions--that most Negroes favor integration "would seem still to hold in 1969." He said the general assumption that many black attitudes have changed radically is based primarily on press reports. "Given the press' desire for sensationalism, the more extreme and loudly pronounced a statement or action, the greater . . . the media attention. Atypical or unusual events may, almost be default, come to be taken as representative." Marx found an overwhelming rejection of separatism.

The final work to be reported on here is another opinion survey by Louis Harris and Associates and not yet published. It was restricted to the five New York City Boroughs and explored attitudes of whites and non-whites on a variety of ethnic and religious questions. Two-thirds of the Negroes had no preference regarding the race of school teachers. The study, which focussed on black-Jewish relations, found blacks much more committed to integration than Jews believed. When asked whether they wanted to "tear down white society," 69 per cent said no, 20 per cent said yes, and 11 per cent were not sure. Only one economic correlation was significant: the lowest income group (less than $3,000 per year) favored this destructive aim by as much as 30 per cent.[1]

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[1] Gary T. Marx, Protest and Prejudice (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), pp. 62-63.

Thus, this writer's review of the views and aspirations of the Negro middle class, indicates the need for this study. If the research done by others suggests that integration is still the goal of the larger black population, it does not indicate the limits, degrees or manner of integration. We are still left with questions such as--do Negroes in integrated offices, factories, etc., hope for, or expect intimate friendships to flower from associations at work? Or do they prefer to be with their "own kind?" Do they want merely cordial acquaintanceships with whites when they move into an integrated neighborhood--or do they prefer all Negro friendships? These are the types of questions not yet covered by assimilation research which this study seeks to explore.[1]

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[1] Louis Harris and Associates (Bronxville, New York: The Sarah Lawrence College Institute of Community Studies, 1969).

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[1] Here mention must be made of the original and solid contribution to our psychological knowledge of the assimilation process made by Bonnie Bullough. Her study, Social-Psychological Barriers to Housing Desegregation (Berkeley, California: University of California, 1969), seeks to identify and measure the "special strengths" or unique characteristics of those who break through the barriers into white neighborhoods--and of those who don't try.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Composing a Middle Class Sample

Age and place of residence were decided upon as the two critical variables in this study. Males and females between the ages of 30-55 years were deemed as the significant group for research purposes.

Because of the possibility that views toward separatism or integration might be different among those living in all black neighborhoods and those in integrated settings, Harlem, and the Williamsbridge section of the Bronx were singled out as two areas which would incorporate both types of neighborhoods.

The integrated area.

Williamsbridge, in the northernmost section of the Bronx has its boundaries at East Tremont Avenue on the south and Adee Avenue on the north. It lies between White Plains Road on the east, and Eastchester Avenue on the west. It is primarily a residential area of privately owned middle-income dwellings which range in cost from fifteen to about thirty thousand dollars. The absence of industrial buildings or tall office structures gives the residents a quasi-suburban feeling. Although they are very much part of the city, they do not feel so caught up in the problems of the central city. They are, for example, spared the endless search of central city dwellers for parking spaces for their cars, grass and trees are in abundance, and pride everywhere in the upkeep of one's house and garden is most apparent. Although the subway system extends this far north it is usually necessary for the great mass of daily commuters to take a bus first to get to the subway which will carry them to Manhattan where they work.

For years Williamsbridge was largely Italian in its ethnic content. The numerous little shopping complexes consisting of fruit stores, delicatessens, small grocers, pork stores, shoe repair stores, etc. are still primarily Italian operated.

In the past 15 years or so, however, there has been a building boom in this section with hundreds of brick row houses going up everywhere. Although many of these homes are purchased by whites, they are, to a very large extent, owned by Negroes who have moved up from Manhattan, and who are having the experience of being homeowners for the first time. Also, within the past 6-8 years, there have been a few apartment buildings constructed and while these are to a small degree integrated, the tenancy is largely Negro. The monthly rent for these apartments ranges from $150-250. The pattern of selling by realtors of the brick row houses, results in integration of the whole area but on a "strip" basis. Once a Negro buys one house in a new strip of row houses--the rest of the strip will be sold to Negroes and the same practice pertains for whites. There are many Negroes and whites living side by side, however, because of the sale of the older non-row type homes. It was from these blocks that the sample was drawn.

The most recent figures available for the ethnic breakdown of this area were compiled by the research division of the New York City Board of Education, and came from a 1960 census. At that time the total population for Williamsbridge was 117,144 with the ethnic breakdown as given below:[1]

TABLE II. Ethnic breakdown of Williamsbridge population

	Number	Per Cent
White	102,679	87.6
Non-White	12,742	10.9
Puerto Rican	1,723	1.5
Totals	117,144	100.0%

The Negro population in 1960 was approximately 10 per cent of the total for this area but it is undoubtedly closer to twice this amount, or 20 per cent at this time.

The non-integrated area. Harlem is without question the largest and most intensely non-integrated area in New York. It has been called the largest black ghetto in the world. All the problems of urban life seem to be stepped up and more concentrated in this tightly packed area of upper Manhattan. Overcrowding, unemployment, illness and disease, the drug traffic, crime, broken family groups, educational underachievement--and just generalized despair and loss of the will to continue trying to cope, are the oft-written of characteristics of this section of the city. And yet to anyone who lives there these characteristics are not descriptive of the whole. In a sense it is a city in itself with all the varieties of peoples, income levels, poverty, social class groups, commercial operations, recreation areas etc.

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[1] Board of Education, City of New York, School Planning and Research Division, "Ethnic Distribution by Community" (New York: The Board, July 9, 1969), p. 10.

Harlem is interesting in that it has many areas where middle and upper income groups live pretty much apart from the more problematic areas, but at the same time, some of its newest apartment buildings, both rental and cooperative, have been and continue to be erected right in the heart of the so-called "worst" areas. These luxury dwellings with their terraces, doormen, and carpeted hallways have attracted some of the most prominent Negroes in sports, show-business and politics, as well as highly successful members of the business and professional world. These people could easily do as so many others have done: purchase their own homes outside the city (since living elsewhere within the city has often been a problem). But they choose to live in Harlem. The findings presented later in this report will highlight some of the reasons why. Apartment rentals for this area range from approximately $130-$360 per month.

The geographic boundaries of Harlem are not specific. Government offices and private groups use different limits to serve various needs. Generally, however, there are three assembly districts which indisputably cover the area of central Harlem (excluding Spanish Harlem) according to the office of the Manhattan Borough President. The ethnic breakdown is presented in Table 3.[1]

TABLE III. (A) Ethnic breakdown of Central Harlem according to Assembly districts

		Population
70th A. D.	50% Negro 50% Puerto Rican	105,000
72nd A. D.	Negro	105,000
74th A. D.	Negro	105,000
Total		315,000

Because the limits of "black Harlem" may reach a little beyond the Assembly districts listed, and because of the 50 per cent Puerto Rican group in the 70th A. D., the office of the Borough President suggests the figure of 300,000, roughly as the population of Harlem for use in this study. The City Planning Commission offered the following figures for the area they consider generally to be central Harlem; namely Community Planning District #10. Their projected estimate for 1970 for this area is shown in Table 4.[2]

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[1] Board of Election, New York City, "Board of Election Registration Figures for New York County for 1969" (New York: The Board, 1969), unpaged.

[2] New York City Planning Commission, Projected Population Figures for 1969.

TABLE IV. (B) Ethnic breakdown of Central Harlem (according to the New York City Planning Commission)

	Per Cent
Negro	96.6
Puerto Rican	2.5
White (and other)	.9
Total	100.0

Using either of the two preceding tables it is clear even though the two agencies differ on the size of the Puerto Rican population in what each refers to as central Harlem, the point is made that the area can be discussed as unquestionably non-integrated.

Determining sample size. The procedure followed in drawing a sample, varied from the more accepted method common to social science today. If, for example, samples were obtained which were representative of each of the two universes--Harlem and Williamsbridge middle class populations--the question of whether or not the research findings could then be applied to a wider area (e.g. the entire Negro middle class population of New York City) would be debatable. The more plausible procedure would seem to be to compose a sample of the larger area from the very beginning. But here, too, the question of generalizing to an even wider area would arise. The replication of studies must always follow when the universe is restricted.

The course decided on for this research is no less vulnerable than any of the above options. The method devised was to establish an arbitrary sample size large enough to be invulnerable on the question of size alone. The figure decided on was 200, with half to come from each of the two neighborhoods. The respondents were then selected according to the criteria established for middle socio-economic status.

Selecting the respondents. Respondents were solicited in person by the principal investigator employing a purposive, three stage method which included considerations of area, residences, and individuals; the latter being selected on a random basis. The areas have been delineated in the two preceding sections entitled "The Integrated and The Non-Integrated Areas."

Large middle income apartment complexes were selected in various sections of central Harlem and the names and apartment numbers listed in the lobby were copied. Every third door bell on a floor was rung on every other floor of the building. In the Bronx this same method was applied to two apartment buildings where about half the sample of 100 was solicited. The remainder lived in private houses and required a different approach. Over a period of several weeks, the principal investigator drove around the selected Bronx area on spring weekends when the weather was nice, noting addresses where Negroes were observed on porches, in their yards, getting into cars, etc. Then selecting no more than five homes in any given block, the door bells were rung and participation in the study was requested.

In both Harlem and the Bronx these methods were most fruitful once initial suspicions were overcome. Today people in the cities are afraid to open their doors to strangers at this time in our lives and so it was here. It was almost always necessary to recite half the explanation through the closed door of an apartment dwelling. It was much easier to approach Bronx homeowners who were in their yards or on their porches, but even then, there was initial suspicion or sometimes just a wish not to be bothered, which required breaking through. The fact that the principal investigator was female helped a great deal as several respondents later reported that they would never have acceded to the same request from a male stranger. Once the initial barrier was overcome, cooperation almost always followed. It was discovered that the subject of the study is of deep concern to this population. Most of them spent a great deal of time talking about it.

When a prospective respondent volunteered participation he was accepted on the spot and advised that an interviewer would telephone soon to arrange an appointment. When husband and wife were present they would sometimes ask "Which one of us do you want," and a choice would be made on the basis of efforts to keep the sex balance of the sample somewhat equalized.

The Non-Respondents

No record was kept of those door bells which were rung and not answered, presumably because no one was at home, but outright refusals were duly noted. In Harlem, where refusals ran higher, there were 18--and 13 of these were women who never opened the door. They offered various reasons such as, "I'm sorry but I don't have the time," or "You'll have to come back when my husband is home." A couple of women said they were getting ready to go to work. Of the 18, two accepted the idea initially but reneged when the interviewer telephoned, changing the appointment several times until the message was clear that they were not interested. One man, somewhat drunk when he first accepted, was also repeatedly unavailable when contacted later.

In the Bronx there were 14 refusals and all but one refused at the outset. One, a social worker, said she had answered about 6 questionnaires and "the government already has too much information on black people." About half the Bronx refusals were from men and half from women. One man said his wife was quite sick and he was preoccupied because of this. Another family refused, saying they had just moved from Trinidad within the year and felt they were not knowledgeable enough about American race relations. A woman, about to have a baby, said "If you don't get all your people, come back in a month." The rest reported that they were "too busy."

There were about a dozen other residences in Harlem and the Bronx where only children were at home, or where the adults were below the minimal sample age of 30 years. These were not counted as non-respondents. There was nothing in the case of these refusals to indicate that an element of bias existed in the final sample.

Verification of Socio-Economic Status

The scales devised by Srole, Langner, *et al*, in their study of Mental Health in the Metropolis[1] were used to verify socio-economic status, with adjustments made for the upward spiral of incomes in general since 1962 when their work was published, and also the upper limit of income for Negroes in the middle income group was extended upward to include most of what would descriptively fit the upper class stratum, but who, because of their life style are more appropriately classified as middle class. (See Tables V and VI.)

In June, 1969, during the data collecting period of this study, The New York Times wrote the following.[2] "While a difficult group to define, the middle class in practical terms consists of the roughly 70 per cent of the city's white and black population that has a family income level above the poverty threshhold of about $7,000 or $8,000 a year (depending on family size) and below the level of

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[1] Leo Srole, et al., *Mental Health in the Metropolis* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1962).

[2] "The Changing City," *The New York Times*, June 7, 1969, p. 21.

TABLE V. Criteria for determining socio-economic status (SES)*

Education	Score	Occupation	Score	Income**	Score
Some grammar school	(1)	Blue Collar Low	(1)	$ 0- 3,999	(1)
Grammar school grad.	(2)	Blue Collar Middle	(2)	4- 6,999	(2)
Some high school	(3)	Blue Collar High	(3)	7- 9,999	(3)
High school grad.	(4)	White Collar Low	(4)	10-12,999	(4)
Some college	(5)	White Collar Middle	(5)	13-15,999	(5)
College grad.	(6)	White Collar High	(6)	16-Over	(6)

CODE

Low SES = Total Score of 3- 9
Middle SES = Total Score of 10-16
High SES = Total Score of 17-18

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*Based on scale devised by Srole, Langner, et al. Mental Health in the Metropolis (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1962).

**Income updated in accordance with information supplied by The Community Council of Greater New York, 1968.

TABLE VI. Occupational code used in determination of socio-economic status

White Collar High	Owner high Manager and official high Professional and self-employed Artist self-employed Professional employed by others
White Collar Middle	Owner-proprietor middle Farm high and middle (owner) Manager and official middle Artist employed by others Semi-professional Sales high Clerical high
White Collar Low	Owner-proprietor low Manager and official low Sales and Clerical low
Blue Collar High	Service high Skilled manual self-employed Farmer low Skilled manual employed by others
Blue Collar Middle	Semi-skilled Self-employed and employed by others
Blue Collar Low	Farmer low (tenant) Service low Unskilled labor

affluence enjoyed by those with incomes of $30,000, $40,000 and more."

For purposes of eligibility in public housing in New York City, middle income is usually considered to be between $5,000 and $10,000, but the city's housing administration broadened its definition in the summer of 1968 and called family earnings between $6,000 and $25,000, "middle income."[1]

The Federal government does not break down income in this fashion but does suggest $11,236 per year as a base standard of living for a family of four as of May, 1969, and $16,914 for a higher income in the Northeastern section of the U. S.[2]

After consultation with the Community Council of Greater New York, it was decided for this study to begin the middle income range at $7,000 and to continue it upward to approximately $30,000. (See Table VII--Demography of the Middle Class Population.)

Characteristics of the Study Group

One hundred Bronx residents and one hundred Harlem residents were selected and interviewed in the spring of 1969. In analyzing the descriptive information about this group one might make the following summary statement. The typical respondent for the entire group tended to be female, between the ages of 37-42 years, married, born in the

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[1] The New York Times, February 23, 1969, p. 43.

[2] The New York Times, January 5, 1970, p. 1.

TABLE VII. The demography of the middle class population

	Per Cent Bronx	 Harlem
Sex		
Male	44	42
Female	56	58
Age of Respondent		
30-36 Years	38	33
37-42 Years	19	21
43-48 Years	20	20
49-55 Years	23	26
Birthplace		
North	36	41
South	44	45
W. I. Island	17	4
American Born W. I.	2	9
Western State	1	1
Marital Status		
Single	6	26
Married	74	43
Widowed	9	5
Divorced or Separated	11	26
Number Years in N. Y. C.		
Less than 2 Years	1	1
2- 4 Years	5	3
5-10 Years	14	14
11-15 Years	15	5
16-24 Years	17	17
25 Years and Over	48	60
Number Years in Present Area		
Less than 2 Years	9	13
2- 4 Years	28	7
5-10 Years	44	23
11-15 Years	10	17
16-24 Years	7	15
25 Years and Over	2	25

TABLE VII - (Continued)

	Per Cent	
	Bronx	Harlem
Occupation of Respondent		
Professional or Semi-Professional	38	47
Managerial	10	13
Clerical	13	13
Sales	3	5
Service	8	8
Skilled or Semi-Skilled	18	6
Unskilled	1	0
Unemployed (including homemaker)	9	8
Religion		
Catholic	16	23
Protestant	77	73
Other	7	4
Attends Church		
Occasionally	45	58
Regularly	25	24
Never	30	18
Sex of Head of Household		
Male	82	57
Female	18	43
Education Completed (Head of Household)		
Some Grammar School	2	
Grammar School Graduate	0	
Some High School	7	3
High School Graduate	23	21
Some College	23	26
College Graduate (+)	45	50
Income (Head of Household)		
0 - $ 3,999		
4 - 6,999		1
7 - 9,999	61	54
10 - 12,999	22	25
13 - 15,999	12	12
16 - Over	5	8
Socio-Economic Status (SES)		
Low SES		
Middle SES	90	86
High SES	10	14

South but living in New York for at least the past 25 years. The number of years in the immediate neighborhood differed for the two areas, however, with the Harlem group showing much longer residence. The typical respondent was likely to have children but no more than three, with slightly more reporting children in the Bronx than in Harlem. Most were of the Protestant faith but only 25 per cent attended services regularly. In the Bronx, 87 per cent of the heads of the household were male in sharp contrast to just 57 per cent in Harlem.

Occupationally the groups showed considerable divergence. In the Bronx there were many more household heads employed in blue collar trades while in Harlem there were more white collar listings. Many of the Bronx residents were civil service workers in the transit authority, postal service, etc. Almost 90 per cent of the respondents worked, whether they were heads of the house or not and again, the figures for the higher professional categories were greater in Harlem, while the skilled and semi-skilled were higher in the Bronx. Table VII gives a detailed picture of both groups.

Although a summary picture of the typical respondent has been presented above, a closer scrutiny of the sample seems necessary. While there were more females than males, the actual frequencies for each were fairly close insuring adequate representation of both types of opinion. The difference in the numbers of single people should also be noted.

There were just six (6%) who were single in the Bronx in contrast to 26 (or slightly over 25 per cent) in Harlem. Twenty-five per cent of the Harlem group were divorced or separated so that more family groups (74 per cent) comprised the background for the Bronx population, whereas only 43 per cent of the Harlem respondents were current members of families. This is interesting since the age breakdown for both groups was very similar. It is also understandable since unattached individuals tend to live more in urban centers than outside the city proper in private houses, etc.

Educationally, the Harlem group (heads of household) rated slightly higher, with over 75 per cent having had some college or a college degree. Sixty-eight per cent were rated as such in the Bronx. Income levels followed the same pattern.

It is now clear that while the "typical" overall respondent for both groups was a middle aged married woman with from 1-3 children, we are actually dealing with two rather different groups. The Harlem group consisted largely of unattached individuals with almost half listed as female heads of the household. They had a little more education and occupied a higher position on the vocational scale. The Bronx group was largely married with a male as head of the household and likely to be working in a skilled trade. In both areas both husband and wife usually worked.

The Low Socio-Economic Group

Because of the inability to predetermine middle class status solely on the fact of residence in a middle income apartment building or neighborhood, and because questions concerning this could not be asked until the interview was underway, it was anticipated that there would be a number of respondents seen whose circumstances fitted low socio-economic criteria rather than middle. These persons comprise a sub-group which has been considered separately. There were 15 respondents classified as such in Harlem and 21 in the Bronx. The data on these respondents have been screened out, and are reported separately in Appendix A.

The Interview Schedule

An eleven page Interview Schedule was devised to cover the areas of investigation in this research. The effort was to first obtain a demographic picture of the respondent and to elicit his attitudes and activities regarding the current civil rights struggle as a framework for subsequent questioning concerning his preferences for integration or separatism in a whole range of areas of functioning--but with special emphasis on the key assimilation variables; employment, schools, housing and social relationships (c.f. Interview Schedule--Appendix C). The reasons, at the cognitive level, for these preferences, were then defined as either "opportunistic" or "philosophic" (ideal). Those responses which could not be placed in either category were classified as neutral.

Analysis of the Data

The Separatism Index. The thirty-five questions on the Interview Schedule operationalized the major problem of this research--that of determining the choice of middle class Negroes for separation or for integration in their pre-determined primary group contacts and in their self-selected ones. However, because the data showed some variations in the preferences collected for a given respondent, six key questions were selected from the Interview Schedule to serve as an indicator of the overall direction of preference for each person. A Separatism Index was then devised in the following manner.

A five point ordinal index denoting respondent preferences along a continuum ranging from *separatism based on philosophic belief*, to *integration based on philosophic belief*, was created. The response given by each respondent to each of the six questions, (relating to assimilation) was coded along this continuum and a final score achieved.

Separatism Index	Score
Separatism - philosophic	1
Separatism - opportunistic	2
No definite commitment	3
Integration - opportunistic	4
Integration - philosophic	5

The six questions (Research Schedule - #9, 10B, 12, 18, 20, 21) each eliciting integration vs. separatism preference, are listed below.

1. *Employment*: Do you work in an integrated setting?
   Yes______(1) No______(2)
   Does this meet with your preference if you could
   push a magic button?
   Yes______(1) No______(2)
   Comments____

2. Socializing on job: Do you socialize as much with your white co-workers as you do with the Negroes on your job? (Going to lunch, etc.)
None or scarcely at all ______________(1)
Just as much as with Negroes ______________(2)
More than with other Negroes ______________(3)
Is there any special reason why? ____________________

3. Housing preference: If you were planning to move, and could find the housing you want anywhere in the city, would you rather live in a neighborhood with all Negro families, or Negroes and whites?
Negroes______(1) Negroes & Whites______(2)
Not sure______(3)
Why do you feel this way?______________________________

4. Schools: Do you feel Negro children would do better in all Negro schools if they had a good teaching staff? (rather than in integrated schools also having good staff)
All Negro______(1) Negro & White______(2)
Makes no difference______(3) Not sure______(4)
Comments____

5. Complete separation of the races: Roy Innis of Core, advocates complete separation of the races within our society. Do you feel this might be a solution to the race problem?
Offers solution______(1) Not a solution______(2)
Not sure______(3)
Comments____

6. Separate black state: The Black Muslim movement believes that a separate black state offers the ultimate solution. If this became possible, would you feel you had a better or worse chance at life's opportunities in such a state?
Better chance______(1) Worse chance______(2)
Not sure______(3)
Why do you say this?___________________________________

In each of the above questions it was the open ended explanation that was coded for attitude, and which provided the clue for placement on the Separation Index.

Intercorrelation of the six assimilation variables. These six key variables (see Table XXV) were intercorrelated to determine their relationship to each other.

Comparison of primary group preferences with attitudes toward separatism in jobs, schools, housing, complete separation of the races, and separate black state. What might be called the heart of the study was accomplished by presentation of the data in a chi square table (Table XXVI). The following process was required to collapse the scales which furnished the data for this table, so the comparison could be carried out.

Five of the six key questions (Interview Schedule--Questions 9, 12, 18, 20, 21) dealt with what this study refers to as "functional contacts." These questions solicited opinions about race relations in areas of employment, housing, education, complete separation of the races, and a separate black state. Each of these questions was coded along the five point Separatism Index. A mean score was then obtained for each code, and then the two integration codes and the two separatism codes were combined. This resulted in three possible response categories which could then be compared with questions about primary group preferences.

The primary group preferences were handled in the following manner. As was discussed in Chapter I, social contacts on the job or in the neighborhood are somewhat different from the contacts established by inviting friends to one's home to dinner or to a party. For this reason, the scores for job and neighborhood primary group contacts (questions 10b and 14b on Interview Schedule) were combined, while the question on primary group preferences within one's home (question 35--Interview Schedule) was kept as a separate entity.[1]

Correlation of age with attitudinal variables. Sixty-seven variables, comprising all but the 15 demographic variables in the Interview Schedule, were correlated with age. A correlation table (Chapter V--Table XXVII) was then prepared from those variables in the Bronx and in Harlem which showed a statistically significant relationship to age.

Correlation to predict attitudes. Fifteen demographic variables were correlated with the integration vs. separatism score for each respondent to determine possible bases for predicting attitudes. (Chapter V--Predictability of Attitudes).

The Interviewers

Fourteen Negro interviewers were employed. Six (including the principal investigator) were social workers employed in various New York City agencies and eight were graduate students at the Columbia and New York University Schools of Social Work. Because much of the substance of current racial issues is generated within Negroes on an emotionally volatile level, there was concern over the fact that the interviewers would be a far different group than the respondents in terms of age and attitudes and how would they respond. All but two were under 30 years of age. The prospect of a young militant social worker, for example, wearing an "Afro" hairdo and asking a middle aged respondent whether he wanted to be called black or Negro raised serious questions. First, would the social worker by her appearance, manner or other sign, distort the neutrality of the question as written on the research schedule, and second, if such a distortion did exist, would it actually influence the response given?

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[1] It should be noted that the question of neighborhood primary group contacts was dropped for the Harlem group as their neighborhood was non-integrated. In this case, just the score from "on the job" socializing was collapsed to form the three points on the scales (integration, neutral, and separatism).

As a control, interviews were coded for the computer with an interviewer code number. Analysis of the cases showed no apparent interviewer influence. It seemed as if concern over the current racial upheaval prompted respondents to speak openly and it made no difference what anyone else thought.

At the end of the interviewing phase of the study, a short questionnaire was filled out by the interviewers giving their opinions of the interviewing experience. This is reported on in Appendix B.

The Interviews

The interviews took place largely in the respondents' homes. A few were held in places of business. Although only one person in the household gave the responses, other members were often present. The interviewer used the Interview Schedule to ask the questions, and the responses were written on the spot. The respondents were given full understanding that this was a research endeavor and were advised that a summary report would be sent to them at the end of the study. All but two respondents participated with interest. One, a top government official, said he agreed only in order to do us a favor. His answers were non-committal and brusque. The other, resenting the term Negro used at various points in the interview, branded the whole interview as irrelevant and gave little information. Otherwise concern and enthusiasm were the keynotes, with interviewers usually being kept overtime to continue the discussion. The respondents seemed to enjoy the interview experience, often attesting to a real need to "talk about this."

CHAPTER IV

THE RESPONSE

How Much Integration Do Negroes Want?

Functional areas of employment, housing, and schools.

Concerning employment. Eighty-nine of the 100 Bronx respondents were employed and all but five worked in integrated settings. In Harlem, 86 of the 93 employed respondents worked in integrated situations. The question asked was if the integrated or non-integrated situation encountered, met with the respondent's preference. Seventy-three respondents in the Bronx and 74 in Harlem were satisfied with things as they were. Nine Bronx individuals and 12 in Harlem expressed dissatisfaction while the rest said it made no difference or did not respond. The reasons behind the responses were then classified in terms of integration vs. separatist beliefs. Table VIII illustrates.

This question on job preference marks the first instance in this report where the multi-dimensional quality of responses is illustrated. It will be seen later to characterize many of the other responses given as well. It was clear, from almost the first interview, that attitudes were not classifiable simply as pro-integration or pro-separatism. Sometimes integration was desired not because "all men are brothers," or because "I believe we should learn to live together as human beings," as many said. Instead, the motivation was at times quite different;

TABLE VIII. Denoting whether respondents' job situation meets with preference regarding integration vs. separatism

	Per Cent Bronx	 Harlem
Yes - Philosophical belief in integration	41 (46%)	50 (53%)
Opportunistic reason	7 (8%)	1 (1%)
No reason given	25 (28%)	18 (19%)
No - Prefers to be with "own kind"	7 (8%)	14 (15%)
Other Reason	6 (7%)	6 (6%)
No preference	3 (3%)	4 (4%)
Total	89 (100%)	93 (100%)

exploitive in nature or even perverse. One man's reason was that a white job situation is "more efficiently run." Another said, "I like to understand what makes them tick; then I can learn their ways--for competition--and beat them at their own game." A woman's reason was, "whites have all blacks stereotyped. We can help break through this by working with them." This last reason, by itself, might be construed as a wish for integration on an idealistic or "brotherly love" basis. However, in the context of her other responses, the meaning was clear. She said, for example, that she did not socialize with whites on the job because she had not "found any good enough."

The main conclusion to be drawn from the data as presented in Table VIII is that over 75 per cent of the group in each area wanted integrated work settings. The large number in the "no reason given" category, is because respondents were not pressed for elaboration on this question, but were merely asked if they had any comments to support their preference. A review of the cases shows that those who did not expand on this question were those favoring integration. Most felt they had already expressed an overall philosophical commitment to this point of view on earlier questions.

Socializing on the job. As a preface to discussion of the extent to which respondents socialized with others on the job, the information in Table IX was obtained to first establish *the ratio of Negroes and whites* present in the various job settings.

TABLE IX. Percentage of Negroes in the various integrated work situations of employed respondents

Per Cent of Negroes	Number of Respondents Bronx	 Harlem
25% or less	37 (44%)	28 (33%)
26%-60%	36 (43%)	35 (41%)
Over 60%	10 (12%)	19 (22%)
No Report	1 (1%)	4 (4%)
Total	84 (100%)	86 (100%)

Socializing on the job meant having lunch, coffee breaks, etc., together. It did not include activities off the job. It was not considered to be important how often one might socialize with others; the response was interpreted as one of intent or desire.

This question of socializing on the job was considered to be one of the key questions denoting integration vs. separatist attitudes.

TABLE X. Degree of socialization with whites on the job reported by employed respondents

	Number of Respondents	
	Bronx	Harlem
*None or Scarcely at all	25 (30%)	26 (30%)
Just as much as with Negroes	49 (58%)	50 (59%)
*More than with Negroes	8 (10%)	4 (4%)
No Report	2 (2%)	6 (7%)
Total	84 (100%)	86 (100%)

*NOTE: Those who said they socialized less or more than with Negroes were asked why. Eleven Bronx and 21 Harlem respondents said they preferred to be with their own race. Ten others in the Bronx and seven in Harlem were forced to be with whites more, because of their job situation. There was no preference for white company over Negro reported.

It should be noted that twice as many Harlem working people chose to be with other Negroes when they had the chance to relax at work, as did Bronx people. (See NOTE above.) At the same time this did not necessarily conflict with a desire to work in an integrated job situation in their view.

Approximately half the employed respondents in each area--42 in the Bronx and 41 in Harlem--believed firmly that there was *discrimination in the hiring and/or promotion policies where they worked*. Another 12 in the Bronx and seven in Harlem thought it might exist but could not be sure. This is an interesting finding because it relates so strongly to how angry people are about racial injustice; how ready to endorse violence, etc. If one feels insecure and angry about the equity of his personal work situation, a most critical area of his life, it is doubtful he would feel very ready to socialize with whites or to feel hopeful about them in any other area of his functioning.

Attitudes toward housing. Because the neighborhoods for the two groups were different; one integrated and one non-integrated, the questions on housing were different for each group. The Bronx data are presented first.

Most of the Bronx sample (68 per cent) reported they had not deliberately sought an integrated living situation. Their almost unanimous reason for choice of a homesite was that they simply wanted good housing at a price they could afford. Most had not personally experienced any overt resentment or hostility on the part of whites, although 25 per cent said they had. Their social intercourse in the area was largely with other Negroes although 25 per cent reported close social relationships with whites. (Table XI.)

The Harlem residents were asked about the *advantages and disadvantages* of their housing situation. Their responses are recorded in Table XII.

TABLE XI. Factors related to integration in the Bronx housing situation

		Per Cent
A.	Did the fact that this is an integrated area play any part in your decision to move here?	
	Played no part in decision	68
	It was a factor in decision because of idealistic belief	23
	It was a factor in decision for opportunistic reasons	8
	It was a factor for other reasons	1
	Total	100
B.	Do you have Negro friends in the neighborhood?	
	No friends	3
	Only to speak to on street	13
	Visit back and forth	84
	Total	100
C.	Do you have white friends in the neighborhood?	
	No friends	30
	Only to speak to on street	43
	Visit back and forth	27
	Total	100
D.	Have you noticed any sign of resentment or hostility by whites toward Negroes in this neighborhood?	
	Yes	26
	No	74
	Total	100

TABLE XII. Advantages and disadvantages reported in the Harlem housing situation

	Per Cent
Advantages of an all Negro community	
Feel more accepted, more in touch, identify with, my kind of people, etc.	56
Other advantages	15
There are no advantages	23
Don't know--no data	6
Total	100
Disadvantages of an all Negro community	
Poor services, housing, stores, etc.	56
Crime, drugs, etc.	2
Other disadvantages	31
There are no disadvantages	8
Don't know--no data	3
Total	100
Do you feel the services such as street cleaning and garbage pick-up equal those in predominantly white neighborhoods?	
Yes	15
No	79
Don't know	5
Other response	1
Total	100

The all-important feeling of belonging--of feeling accepted and comfortable--was the greatest reason reported for wanting to live in Harlem despite poor services and poor up-keep. One woman said she did not want to live next door to people "who I have to be 'on stage' with." But in citing disadvantages of the area, the same lady said "polarization and inability of people to rub shoulders on an open basis." The conclusion drawn from this is that while she preferred an all black living situation because she was able to relax and not have to be on her guard all the time, she regretted that it had to be this way. While most of the advantages listed were along these lines, there were a few pragmatic answers such as good transportation to all points, and the belief that new, good housing is cheaper in Harlem. It is significant that 23 individuals felt there were no advantages in living in Harlem. A large number of unattached persons figured in this response and it is probable that they felt more secure in an apartment in Harlem than in undertaking a move outside the city proper. Eighty per cent of the Harlem residents felt short-changed in the municipal services given (or not given) to the area.

Both groups, Harlem and Bronx, were asked if they were planning to move and could choose any housing in the city would they prefer an integrated or non-integrated neighborhood. Nine in the Bronx and 16 in Harlem said it made no difference as long as the housing was good. Eleven in the Bronx and 31 in Harlem would choose an all black area while 77 Bronx residents and 47 Harlemites opted for integration. Housing was another of the key areas considered fundamental in exploring integration vs. separatist attitudes. It was learned that about one-half the Bronx group (56 per cent), and one-third of the Harlem group (37 per cent) preferred integrated housing because they believed in this philosophically while 16 per cent in the Bronx and eight per cent in Harlem wanted integration because of better facilities.

The school situation. Elementary schools and college level education were discussed separately and as it turned out, wisely, as the integration vs. separatism question sometimes evoked different responses from the same person. The question asked was: Do you feel Negro children would do better in all Negro schools if they had a good teaching staff--rather than in integrated schools also having good staff? About half the total sample preferred integrated elementary schools (61 per cent Bronx--51 per cent Harlem), feeling that children should learn to get along when they're just beginning, or in some instances, that the school buildings, equipment, and services were usually better when there were white children involved (opportunistic reason). The complete figures and reasons for the choices given are presented here.

The term "overall philosophical belief" as it appears in Table XIII applies to the overall problems of education for elementary schools. It does not necessarily include the individual's belief about college education or housing, etc. There were those who felt that children should start out young to learn to know each other, but later should attend an all black college.

Further explanation is indicated concerning the eight Bronx residents who wanted separatism in grade school. One was a middle aged man,

TABLE XIII. Showing the preference for integration or separatism in elementary schools

	Per Cent	
	Bronx	Harlem
Integration		
Overall philosophical belief	53	49
Because of specific need	8	2
Separatism		
Overall philosophical belief	2	7
Because of specific need	5	14
Makes No Difference	20	19
Other Reason	1	3
Unable to give reason	11	6
Total	100	100

a life-time New Yorker who had lived in his present neighborhood for 20 years. He was married, had two children, and was a college graduate. He was an NAACP member but felt CORE was doing the best job. "I don't feel we have white teachers that won't make a difference. Each group has a different cultural frame; that has to affect the children, even subliminally. The Negro needs to become a black man. The white man doesn't need courses in black studies because he doesn't need to learn to be a black man."

A second illustration is that of a middle aged married woman living in the neighborhood for four years. She was from Alabama but came to New York 29 years ago. She had two children and was a teacher. She was active in the Black Caucus, a professional group dealing with curricula problems of black students. She is quoted as follows. "It (all black schools) did not harm them in the South, but they did not have the same facilities. However, the proudness, integrity, perseverance to climb the highest mountain, one gets from his own; one must see blackness at work in order to believe it."

The question of integration vs. separatism in colleges brought forth the following, as explained in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV. Positive and negative responses toward the merits of the all-black college

	Per Cent	
	Bronx	Harlem
Positive Responses		
Black pride, black teachers, identity	29	24
Black studies	8	6
Social life and acceptance	29	34
Other reason	7	7
Negative Responses		
Fosters separatism (belief in integration)	4	3
Education is not as good	3	3
Other reason	7	12
Don't know enough about them	13	11
Total	100	100

The table is clear. About 75 per cent of the respondents feel there is something unique in a positive way in the all black college. This is not to be construed as an over-all belief in separatism--although it was for a few--but rather a reaching out for something that is felt to be missing in the life offered by the larger society. It is in marked contrast to the figures listed for those wanting all black elementary schools (Table XIII). But this exploration was carried one step further and respondents were asked if faced with the decision today, would they prefer an all black college for their child. Where 75 per cent felt black colleges had something special to offer only 25 per cent would prefer them. Four persons in the Bronx and 12 in Harlem said it made no difference--eight others in the Bronx and five in Harlem could not make up their minds, but over half for each area said no, they preferred an integrated college. The reasons typically related to the need to compete in a white world--or to a philosophical belief in integration.

Close personal friendships, intermarriage, and feelings toward whites. One of the questions this study asks is if separatist attitudes are directed more toward the sphere of unstructured social relationships than to the areas of jobs, education, and housing. The social activity of these respondents reveals that 41 per cent in the Bronx and 34 per cent in Harlem restricted their personal friendships to their own race. Fifty-three per cent in the Bronx and 60 per cent in Harlem said their friends--those they would invite to dinner or to a party--were mostly Negro, and five persons in each area reported socializing just as much with whites and blacks. Discussions with several of the interviewers confirmed this writer's own experience in interviewing. There was a feeling that a number of respondents attempted to convey a pattern of greater social activity with whites than actually existed. Evidence to support this is unimportant as the attitude or desire of the individual to have a particular kind of social activity is what was sought.

Do you believe in intermarriage between Negroes and whites? "We've had sex relations since the first slave ship arrived--why not marriage?" Most of the respondents agreed with this comment feeling marriage is a matter of personal choice (72 Bronx, 74 Harlem). However, of this number, 11 in the Bronx and three in Harlem said that while they endorsed the idea for others, it could never be a personal choice for them. Twenty-one others in the Bronx and 17 in Harlem were opposed to the idea. One Bronx woman (married) said "I feel there aren't enough black men to go around. Also the Negro woman usually marries down when she marries a white man--and black heritage is forgotten." Another in Harlem is quoted: "I feel it involves too many problems--social and emotional, that people are not equipped to handle." Others rejected the idea out of concern for the offspring.

Respondents were asked how they felt toward whites in general. The largest frequency was for those who said they were only somewhat accepting. This frequency constituted about half the sample (53 per cent Bronx, 48 per cent Harlem). When those who claimed to be completely rejecting of whites as a group, are added to this number

(13 per cent Bronx, 14 per cent Harlem), the implications are somewhat foreboding. Just slightly over one-third said they were generally accepting of whites.

The implications, which will be discussed in Chapter VI, derive added meaning from the data which indicate a downhill trend over the years in the acceptance level. Twenty-five per cent of the respondents in each area reported they were more accepting of whites five years ago than when interviewed. A few illustrations of this downhill trend are listed.

> "I am now more aware of the pervasiveness of the bias of their prejudice. I am less patient with their ignorance."
>
> "I wasn't too critical--didn't dislike or greatly like them. Now I dislike them."
>
> "I did not have the understanding of how evil Whitey really is; I know he'll never change unless he's forced. I've got no use for them."
>
> "I felt more hopeful five years ago--now I'm pretty disillusioned."

There were also a few who changed upward, but these were no more than five altogether. Their explanations typically were based on greater tolerance achieved through greater understanding.

The Civil Rights Movement; the Present and the Future

Middle class participation. One person in the entire sample said he never discussed the racial situation at home or anywhere. Everyone else reported the subject as being very much on their minds. In both Bronx and Harlem, over 75 per cent in each area said racial matters were discussed often within their households and with outsiders as well. Most frequently talked about, in the whole general racial situation, were the subjects of job opportunity, the school situation (on all levels) and housing. While these areas are basic concerns of living, it is fair to say also that there were also the subjects being given special attention by the news media at the time the interviews were conducted. Given another point in time, the subjects reported as most frequently discussed might well have been riots, sit-ins or welfare rights demonstrations, etc. The significance of the response lay not in its specifics, but as an indicator of whether the respondents were discussing what was happening at all. They exhibited keen awareness, knowledge, and concern in this regard.

A dramatic change occurred in the responses however, when the focus shifted from talking to personal activity in groups dealing directly or indirectly with race relations. Here an average 75 per cent said they were active in nothing (71 per cent Bronx, 76 per cent Harlem). Those that were active belonged to the NAACP (10 Bronx, 5 Harlem) to the Urban League (1 Bronx, 1 Harlem) or to a special interest group such as a lodge or professional group engaged in some form of racial endeavor (Bronx 9, Harlem 22). The implication here seems clear enough. NAACP is the only national civil rights organization showing any representation and it is insignificant in degree.

Less than 25 per cent in either group belonged to any organization dealing with race, and when they did it was likely to be a non-civil rights group which they joined initially for other reasons, but which happened to be engaged to some degree in civil rights activity.

Despite the lack of membership in civil rights organizations, about half the group in each area reported taking part in a civil rights demonstration at some point in their lives. For the largest number who did participate, it was the March on Washington in 1963. (See civil rights category in Table XV.)

Opinions of civil rights organization. When asked which of the many civil rights organizations was doing the best job the response as shown in Table XVI was given.

At the time of data collection for this research, in the spring of 1969, no one civil rights organization was drawing more news coverage than another, so it may be said there was no environmental bias influencing the choice for the one doing the best job. In both Bronx and Harlem the oldest group--the NAACP--was the first choice. The reasons given were "I trust them," or "They work through the courts." With the Urban League and SCLC claiming the next highest ratings it appears as if the organizations which advocate non-violent methods and work toward integration were preferred by more of this population.

Respondents were then asked if they felt there were any types of organizations dealing with race relations which were not doing a good job. The question did not imply petty grievances, but included only

TABLE XV. Showing activity of respondents in civil rights demonstrations

Type of Demonstration	Per Cent Bronx	 Harlem
School Situation	8	3
Public Accommodations	8	4
Civil Rights in General	25	40
Other	7	2
No Participation	52	51
Total	100	100

TABLE XVI. Showing respondents' choice of civil rights organization doing the best job*

Organization	Per Cent Bronx	 Harlem
NAACP	28	36
Urban League	13	14
CORE and/or SNCC	10	11
SCLC	16	10
Panthers and/or Muslims	11	1
Other Organization	4	2
None Doing Good Job	7	8
All Making Some Contribution	8	17
Don't Know	3	1
Total	100	100

*The following organizations shall be referred to hereafter by abbreviations. NAACP, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; CORE, Congress of Racial Equality; SNCC, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; SCLC, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

those groups where it was felt that the entire program was going off in the wrong direction. The response to this question is presented in Table XVII.

Names of organizations were not asked for but they were usually given. As Table XVII shows, there was slightly more dissatisfaction expressed in Harlem than the Bronx, but in general the two areas had fairly similar opinions. In the "yes" section of the table, the "other reasons" category includes complaints that organizations had no definite programs or were in need of leadership, etc. It is notable that the largest number of responses given for both areas was that all organizations are helping to some degree. This is a very important finding and is, it seems, a sign of the new black unity. This response means that people are not clinging exclusively to the precepts of any one group. The person who stated earlier in the questionnaire that he thought the NAACP was doing the best job, does not necessarily reject completely a totally different kind of group such as the Black Panthers. There seems to be true meaning behind the appellation of "Soul Brother" which we hear so much.

Progress in civil rights. When respondents said we are moving "too slow," they inevitably commented that progress was long overdue; hence there was no such thing as going too fast. However, when they said "just right"--this seldom expressed satisfaction. One person asserted, "Our aims are the same, we just have to plan our way carefully." Another said--"we don't have any leadership right now--we

TABLE XVII. Respondent opinion as to whether any civil rights organization is doing a poor job

	Per Cent Bronx	 Harlem
"Yes" Responses		
Organizations that preach hate and violence (Panthers, Muslims, etc.)	23	19
Organizations that are "too passive" (NAACP, Urban League, etc.)	17	10
Other reason	11	16
Sub-Total	(51)	(45)
"No" Responses		
All helping to some degree	43	44
Other reason	0	5
Sub-Total	(43)	(49)
Unable to Answer	6	6
Total	100	100

can't go too fast without leadership." Caution was usually the basis of this response of "just right." The few who felt things were moving too fast usually referred to the several directions into which black

TABLE XVIII. Indicating opinions regarding the pace of racial progress

	Per Cent Bronx	 Harlem
Too Slow	36	46
Just Right	55	41
Too Fast	6	5
Other Response	2	5
Unable to Answer	1	3
Total	100	100

people have splintered, and cited a need to "get together."

Black vs. Negro. One of the most interesting questions in the study was the one asking what people want to be called in this era of confused terminology. In June, 1969, during the interview period of this study, Newsweek magazine, in a comprehensive Report From Black America,[1] quoted the following. "Black is still not the first choice--Negro remains the most popular--but it (black) has a great vogue among the Northern city-dwellers, the young, and the relatively affluent."

This is borne out in the present report as indicated in Table XIX.

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[1] Report From Black America (Newsweek, June 30, 1969), p. 20.

TABLE XIX. Showing the label by which respondents wish to be known

Label	Per Cent Bronx	 Harlem
Afro-American	14	6
Black	48	44
Negro	24	22
Colored	7	7
African American		1
Black or Negro		2
Makes No Difference	6	15
Other	1	3
Total	100	100

For those who have adopted the new "Black" label, the argument that Negro is a slave name seems to have struck a very personal note. It was the most frequently given reason for rejecting the Negro title. To these people, the word Negro was usually abhorrent. To many of the almost twenty-five per cent who wanted to be called Negro, however, the word black was often spat out with even greater repugnance. One woman fairly screamed,--"Black, black, black--that's all I hear these days. Well I'm not black, I'm brown and I don't want to be called black!" Several others felt this strongly but some were not so vehement. Age was sometimes a factor. A few referred to the fact that they had spent their entire lives using the word Negro and were too old now to change. Others said they had spent years fighting people who called them black, or trying to get people to capitalize the word Negro, and had no wish now to make a switch. It does seem, however, that there is an overwhelming move toward the use of Black in the New York area according to these findings.

This question was asked by reading aloud to the respondent, the first six choices as shown in Table XIX. It is felt that several of those who selected "Afro-American" would not have done so had the name not been read to them. It was noted that some of those who chose "Afro-American" never used the term again throughout the interview. They usually referred to "black people" instead. "Afro-American" is a cumbersome term and simply not convenient for conversational usage, although technically correct.

As noted in the table, there were a few to whom having a specific label meant little. As one man said, "Call me anything you want--just call me a man!"

Violence

Do you feel Negroes can accomplish their goals without violence? This question did not ask if the respondent endorsed violence; only if he felt it was inevitable. Seventy per cent of the Bronx respondents said it was inevitable as did 66 per cent in Harlem. A number explained their response in terms of American society as a whole saying "Life is more violent everywhere today," or "It's the only way to change anything in this country," or "this is the history of America." Others spoke more specifically in terms of race, saying "It's the only thing the white man knows," or "Whitey will never move over by himself," or "the younger generation won't take what we did."

Do you think the riots of the past couple of years have helped or hurt Negroes? Two-thirds of the group felt the riots definitely helped. Many hastened to say they did not endorse riots but felt that some benefits did occur. Others endorsed the need to riot as the only way to move ahead. Table XX documents the response to this question.

TABLE XX. Attitudes toward the riots of the past few years

	Per Cent	
	Bronx	Harlem
Helped		
Brought action and/or services	22	31
Made whites aware of problem	33	26
United blacks	7	3
Helped--other reason	1	2
Helped and Hurt	11	16
Hurt		
Turned against blacks (burned their homes, etc.)	6	8
Embittered whites--created backlash	7	5
Hurt--other reason	4	2
Hurt--no reason given	9	7
Total	100	100

A group of questions were included to elicit attitudes not specifically related to the functions of daily life, but more toward general perspectives of the racial scene. Respondents were asked if they felt the youth of today (those under 21), were moving more toward the idea of integration or separation. Two-thirds said separation, and campus demonstrations were often cited as evidence. However, some qualified their remarks as did one woman who is quoted: "I think it is a temporary separation to let the other group know they are happy to be black and not ashamed of it." Another said: "Integrated society has not shown concern for these youngsters, and they are aware of it and have little hope that things will get better." Both these people, who were consistent in wanting integration as their own personal goal, recognized the black youth of today as a new, more impatient breed.

How would you compare Negroes with other minority groups with regard to discrimination in this country? The four groups named were Puerto Ricans, Jews, poor whites in the south, and the American Indians. Except for this last group--the American Indians--Negroes were regarded by most of the respondents as discriminated against more than the others. About one-third of the Bronx group and 25 per cent in Harlem felt the Puerto Ricans might be worse off--largely because they were newer in the country and had language problems. But with the Jews and poor whites the typical comment was: "as long as they're white they have a better chance." Great sympathy was expressed for the American Indian even though often knowledge was faulty. Many for example believed that Indians are required by law to live on reservations, and are not allowed to vote.

Respondents were asked to choose a country anywhere in the world where they might like to live for a year. The point was to find out how many would elect to go to Africa. The question of the extent to which American Negroes identify with Africa as a homeland has been hotly debated in recent years. Afro dress and hair styles are no longer subject to the stares and comment they once attracted. They are very much a part of the daily scene in the New York area. Twenty-five per cent in the Bronx and 25 per cent in Harlem chose Africa usually because of a wish to visit the country of their forebears. The largest group, however, chose countries all over the rest of the world but largely in Europe. Racial considerations were sometimes the basis of choice, but just as frequently, the climate, pace of living, etc., were the reasons. An unexpected finding was the number who said "No matter how bad it is here I wouldn't want to live anywhere else, for even a year." About 20 people felt so strongly this way they could not contemplate living anywhere else even on a make-believe basis and for a temporary period.

To continue on the subject of black identity, the following responses were given to the query as to whether "Afro" clothing and hairstyles as seen today, imbued the interviewees with a sense of racial pride. Forty-seven Bronx residents said yes it did, as did 35 in Harlem. A slightly larger number said it did not (53 Bronx, 62 Harlem). It is interesting to note that more Harlemites denied feelings of racial pride in seeing this attire when it is in Harlem that the custom flourishes most. A few individuals (nine Bronx, seven Harlem) said that while the current styles did nothing for them personally, they supported it if it had meaning for the wearer.

When you hear the term "Black Power," what does it mean to you? Because "Black Power" evolved several years ago, as a battle cry of the more militant groups, it developed an association with a call for violence in the minds of many, both black and whites. It is not so widely used at this time, by any group. It is being replaced by "Green Power," "Student Power," "Power to the People," etc. To the people in this study, almost unanimously it meant self-help and control of institutions. In this sense they felt it to be a good thing. Only one person related it to violence.

The choice for the future. The respondents had already asserted, by a two-thirds vote that violence was inevitable whether they personally agreed with this tactic or not. At a much later point in the interview they were asked, "Do you feel it will ever be possible in this country for Negroes and whites to get along without major clashes?" The response was clearly an indication of hope as almost the same number who prophesied violence--felt that things will eventually change for the better and major clashes will one day no longer occur. Many said, "Not in my lifetime, but I do believe it will happen some day." Twenty-one respondents in the Bronx and 32 in Harlem, on the other hand, felt major clashes will always be a part of the American scene.

Since the above response was generally one of hope for the future--the question then was in what direction should we proceed. There is a move to bring about complete separation by institutions for blacks, yet to remain within the framework of the larger society. Respondents were asked if they felt this kind of separation--all black, schools, job situations, etc.--might offer a solution to the race problem. Eighty-seven per cent in the Bronx and 92 per cent in Harlem felt it was not the answer. These were not all endorsements of integration--although most were. Some just felt it wouldn't work. The figures are presented in Table XXI.

The response of those opposing separation because of a philosophical belief in integration requires no illustration, but there were some whose pro-integration desire was on a different--an opportunistic--basis. Some of these individuals and also those who said the idea just wouldn't work, are quoted here. These two groups can be combined.

> "Afro-Americans don't have the money to make it by themselves."
>
> "It has not worked in the past. Eventually we must learn to manipulate the system to our benefit."
>
> "It's not practical."
>
> "Most of our businesses are poor."
>
> "Would contribute toward continued social retardation of blacks."
>
> "We'd never get to know and understand each other."
>
> "When you become isolated in one culture you don't expand."
>
> "It makes it too easy for whitey, by localizing ourselves in one area."

Those advocating separatism for any reason were few in number. Their comments were as follows:

> "I really dig this--that would be great!"
>
> "Unless the system is changed there will be no integration and I foresee no change."
>
> "This would not offer an ultimate solution but it may be temporarily necessary."

The reader is cautioned against interpreting any responses for

TABLE XXI. Response to idea of complete geographical separation of Negroes and whites

	Per Cent Bronx	 Harlem
Belief in integration--philosophically	49	73
Belief in integration--opportunistic reason	10	3
Belief in separatism--philosophically	1	2
Separation on other basis	0	3
It just wouldn't work	15	9
Other reason given	5	3
No reason given	20	7
Total	100	100

integration or for separatism as shown in Table XXI or expressed in the examples cited, as being conclusive thoughts on the part of the respondents. It was pointed out much earlier in this report that the findings of the study were marked by an inconsistency of attitudes as various aspects of the whole racial picture were discussed. The problem of evaluating these mixed responses is handled statistically in Chapter V.

The Black Muslim movement is probably the largest group to advocate formation of an all-black state, completely separate, geographically, from the rest of the country. This proposition was suggested to the study group by asking if they felt they would have a better or worse chance at life's opportunities in such a state. Nine Bronx individuals and eight Harlemites felt they would have a better chance.

> "There would be fewer people, therefore I would have a better chance. I do not feel comfortable around whites; I think I am better than the majority of whites in many instances."
>
> "If it is a sovereign state; and not another state in U. S., I would go along with it."
>
> "We would have our own goals and get respect when we get these goals in hand."
>
> "Provided state is not within confines of U. S., and provided it called for removal of all blacks from U. S. Then we would be something. We could utilize contributions from each person and feel we were really achieving something."

There was considerable uncertainty in some of the respondents' minds over this question, as noted by the high number classified as not sure (20 Bronx, 14 Harlem). This must mean that the idea of an all black state had at least some degree of merit for this group. But in summary, as with the previous question on separatism, two-thirds of the sample in each area (66 Bronx, 78 Harlem) were opposed to a separate black state either because of philosophical belief or because they felt it just wouldn't work.

Finally, this population was asked, who holds the key to improving the conditions of Negroes in this country; is it mostly the black man, mostly the white man, or equally for both? Table XXII shows how the replies were classified.

The only category in Table XXII requiring some explanation is probably the assertion that the white man controls the power. This opinion was much stronger in the Bronx than in Harlem where the feeling was greater that blacks must take the reins. One articulate woman's statement seems to sum up the feeling of white responsibility: "The white man runs the country--he controls the communications media. He could change things in a matter of months if he wanted to. Our minds are shaped through this."

TABLE XXII. Respondent opinion regarding responsibility for the future

	Per Cent	
	Bronx	Harlem
Black Man Holds the Key		
Must help self	16	25
White Man Holds the Key		
He controls the power	34	13
Must accept Negro as person	0	4
Other reason	1	0
Equal Responsibility	49	58
Total	100	100

CHAPTER V

INTERPRETATION OF THE RESPONSE

Integration vs. Separatism Rating Scales

Several references have been made earlier in this report to the fact that determination of integration vs. separatist attitudes was more complex than anticipated at the outset of this research. It was expected, perhaps naively, that by the end of each interview it would be clear as to whether the respondent supported an integrationist point of view or was committed to a course of racial separatism. What was found was a diversity of attitudes for the same individual, with, perhaps, a general tendency in a given direction, but no clear cut picture. The following is an example of this varied response.

> A 46 year old transit employee, married and with two children said he worked in an integrated setting and preferred it this way, but during periods of relaxation on the job he socialized only with Negroes because "I feel more comfortable with my own people." The ideal housing for him would be in an integrated neighborhood "because it's important that we understand each other." He believed it made no difference whether schools on the elementary level were integrated but would definitely not send his child to an all black college. He was against the idea of complete separation of the races within the present society, but endorsed the notion of a separate black state because "we could control our destiny."

Much of what this man said is not contradictory when the reasoning behind it is understood. The overall impression is that he has a hope for integration within the structure of society as it is today; but at the primary group level his preferences vary. He likes the idea of free association with neighbors on an interracial basis, but when it comes to relaxation and intimate or "freewheeling" conversation, he prefers to be with his own race. His feeling of repression in the society he lives in, however, motivates him to look with favor on a completely separate state where he would not be subjected to minority group status.

The problem that arose from the numerous complex responses received, required a method of analysis which would consolidate the various types of responses for each individual into one final integration vs. separatism rating. The solution was to formulate the Separatism Index described in the Methodology section (Chapter III).

The six key questions from the Interview Schedule which were coded on the Separatism Index follow.

1. Reason for preferring an integrated or non-integrated work situation.
2. Reason for socializing or not, with white co-workers on the job.
3. Preference for integrated or non-integrated neighborhood if planning to move and could select housing anywhere in city (hypothetical question).
4. Preference for integrated or non-integrated elementary schools (hypothetical situation).
5. Attitude toward idea of complete separation of the races with all black institutions within our society.
6. Attitude toward development of a geographically separate, all black state.

The response to each of the questions could result in a score of from

1-5 on the Separatism Index (Methodology Section). The lowest score possible on all six questions would be a total of six, indicating that the respondent's answers were rated as SEPARATISM--based on philosophic belief. At the other end of the scale, the maximum score possible would be 30, meaning the answers were all rates as INTEGRATION--based on philosophic belief. Table XXIII shows the distribution of scores for the Bronx and Harlem groups.

TABLE XXIII. Separatism Index for the middle class groups

	Total Score	Per Cent	
		Bronx	Harlem
Separatism - philosophic	1- 6	0	1
Separatism - opportunistic	7-12	1	2
No definite commitment	13-18	13	18
Integration - opportunistic	19-24	47	42
Integration - philosophic	25-30	39	37
Total		100	100

To properly interpret Table XXIII it is necessary to combine the two separatism categories and also the two integration categories, because, as an example, a person whose total score is reflected in the Integration--opportunistic group was probably not given this rating on all of the six questions but accumulated enough points to put him at the integration end of the scale. It should not be interpreted that he desires integration on an opportunistic basis, but rather that he leans toward wanting integration (for whatever the reason) as opposed to separatism.

Therefore, by condensing the data as explained, the following result (see Table XXIV) is obtained, showing even more clearly the overwhelming numbers at the integration end of the scale.

TABLE XXIV. Condensed Separatism Index
for the middle class groups

	Per Cent	
	Bronx	Harlem
Desire for separatism	1	3
No definite commitment	13	18
Desire for integration	86	79
Total	100	100

There were 26 people in the Bronx who had one or more responses to the six key questions in both the integration and separatism ends of the scale. The usual pattern was to have one question in the separatism for opportunistic reasons category and the rest in the integration classifications. Such would be the case of the mother who wanted almost every area of her life to function on an integrated basis, but supported the idea of all black schools for elementary children as a necessity during the present period of upheaval. In Harlem there were 46 respondents who showed up variously at both ends of the scale. Only four Bronxites and five Harlemites received scores of five on all of the six questions. As stated before, a score of five on a question indicated a philosophical belief in integration.

Only one Harlem person scored "one" on each of the six questions, meaning a philosophical belief in separatism on all of the six key questions. No one in the Bronx received all "one's." Therefore to state the obvious, this middle class population strongly favors integration in what we call the area of functional contacts: 86 per cent of the Bronx sample and 79 per cent in Harlem.

Intercorrelates of the Six Key Questions

Table XXV presents the correlates of these six variables as they relate to each other and to the total score. As the results indicate, the Bronx middle and Harlem middle class groups are somewhat similar in all categories of the correlations. There are three correlations indicating differences, however, between these middle income groups, namely: (1) elementary schools and employment, (2) choice of neighborhoods (housing) and socializing on the job, and (3) elementary schools and complete separation of the races.

In each of the above situations, the Harlem correlations are significant at the .01 level, whereas in the Bronx no significance is shown. This difference is probably explained by the fact that while some Bronx respondents indicated a wish for an integrated work situation, they were classified as neutral on the Separatism Index as they failed to give a reason for their preference.

With regard to the Harlem correlation of housing and socialization

TABLE XXV. Intercorrelation Matrix for the six assimilation variables

	E	SOJ	H	ES	CSOR	SBS	TOTAL***	CLASS
EMPLOYMENT (E)		.39**	.35**	.20	.29**	.14	.67**	(BM)
		.35**	.42**	.36**	.27**	.17	.73**	(HM)
SOCIALIZATION ON JOB (SOJ)			.14	.17	.22*	.10	.57	(BM)
			.27**	.16	.21*	.13	.62**	(HM)
HOUSING (H)				.25**	.28**	.18	.60**	(BM)
				.36**	.20*	.02	.64**	(HM)
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (ES)					.14	.22*	.54**	(BM)
					.30**	.26**	.66**	(HM)
COMPLETE SEPARATION OF RACES (CSOR)						.28**	.58**	(BM)
						.23*	.51**	(HM)
SEPARATE BLACK STATE (SBS)							.55**	(BM)
							.42**	(HM)

BM = Bronx Middle
HM = Harlem Middle
N = 100

* = .05 Level of Confidence
** = .01 Level of Confidence
*** = Total score is the sum of the individual scores

on the job, those who said they would prefer to live in an integrated neighborhood if they were planning to move and could select housing anywhere in the city, were also the ones who socialized just as much with white co-workers as with Negroes on the job. Although the total numbers of those who mingled just as much with white co-workers socially, as with Negroes was actually greater in the Bronx, there was no significant correlation of this variable in that area, with the preference for integration in neighborhoods.

The third correlation, appearing just in Harlem, was that of elementary schools and complete separation of the races. Here, those that preferred integrated elementary education based on a "philosophic" belief in brotherhood, also rejected the concept of complete separation of the races for the same philosophic reason. This is one area where there might possibly have been a similar correlation for the Bronx but 20 individuals had to be classified in the neutral category because they did not explain their answers. It is known from the previous question asked which obtained simply a numerical summary, that only two people in the Bronx felt separatism offered a solution.

The total score, which consists of a summary of the individual scores shows an .01 correlation in all categories except one, socializing on the job. Because the total correlates so highly with most of the individual scores, it can be used as a summary score for the others.

The Question of Structural Assimilation

Milton Gordon's term "structural assimilation" refers to the entry of minority group people into the "primary groups" of the majority. This study hypothesizes that the degree of free choice in joining various types of primary groups does vary. "Socializing" on the job and in the neighborhood, for example, are to a certain extent, structured or pre-determined, compared to the invitation one freely gives to a dinner or party in one's home. With the research schedule and the resulting data shaped in accord with these distinctions, critical questions now arise. Does the Negro middle class have preferences to match the distinctions? Or does he seek integration right up to the level of the home? Does residence in Harlem or Williamsbridge alter the response? Or working on a job where both whites and Negroes are employed?

Table XXVI is a statistical presentation of the answers derived from the data.

Table XXVI shows the proportions of close personal socializing as they compare with functional contacts.[1] Then it compares the combined job and neighborhood types of socializing with functional contacts; and thirdly--for each sample--it compares the job and neighborhood types of socializing with a more intimate type of primary grouping such as those one invites to one's home.

The table indicates the following.

A. In comparing preference in close personal relationships and

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[1] The reader is reminded that the term "functional contact" refers to the responses to questions about integrated employment, housing, education, complete separation of the races, and a separate black state (Research Schedule--Ques. 9, 12, 18, 20, 21).

TABLE XXVI. Association between separatism and selected personal contact situations*

	BRONX			HARLEM		
	Separatism	Neutral	Integration	Separatism	Neutral	Integration
A Close Personal Relationships	94.0	6.0	0.0	94.0	6.0	0.0
Functional Contacts	7.0	42.0	51.0	13.0	35.0	52.0
	Chi Square = 152. d.f. = 2 Significant at .01 Level			Chi Square = 133. d.f. = 2 Significant at .01 Level		
B Socializing in Job & Neighborhood	28.0	34.0	38.0	25.0	23.0	52.0
Functional Contacts	7.0	42.0	51.0	13.0	35.0	52.0
	Chi Square = 15. d.f. = 2 Significant at .05 Level			Chi Square = 6. d.f. = 2 Not Significant		
C Socializing in Job & Neighborhood	28.0	34.0	38.0	25.0	23.0	52.0
Close Personal Relationships	94.0	6.0	0.0	94.0	6.0	0.0
	Chi Square = 93. d.f. = 2 Significant at .01 Level			Chi Square = 101 d.f. = 2 Significant at .01 Level		

* Respondents were scored on each of the three situations reported above (A, B, and C).
N = 100

functional contacts (schools, jobs, etc.), both Bronx and Harlem show a strong preference for separatism in personal relationships and for integration in the functional areas.

B. In the comparison of socializing on the job and in the neighborhood, with functional contacts, the differences are not as great as shown in (A) but there is more desire for integration in both groups in the functional areas of job, schools, etc., than in socializing on the job. The scores for socializing in the neighborhood in this category apply only to the Bronx.

C. Here it is evident that close personal relationships for both groups are much more strongly preferred on the basis of separatism than are the social contacts engaged in on the job or in the neighborhood (Bronx only).

In other words, the Black Bourgeoisie in this study do not feel too strongly about having white or black friendships at work or in the neighborhood. They are willing, apparently, to allow for some element of determinism in these primary groups, but given the free choice of selecting friends for an affair at home, they will be Negroes. Structural assimilation at this point in history stops at the front door of the Negro home.

The Importance of Age

All the variables inherent in all the questions--except for the demographic variables--were correlated with age, and those found to be statistically significant are shown in Table XXVII.

TABLE XXVII. Correlation table of age with variables of statistical significance

Variable	Correlation with Age Bronx	Harlem
Organization doing best job	-.25*	-.27*
Violence	-	-.18*
Ever in demonstration	-	.29*
Pace of Progress	-	.24*
Housing preference	-	.23*
Opinion of Muslims	-	.20*
Close Personal friendships	-	.18*
Employment	-.21*	-
Elementary schools	-	-.17*
Acceptance of whites	-.22*	-

* = Significant at .05 Level

N = 100 except for employment where
Bronx N = 89
Harlem N = 93

It is clear that age did not play an important role in this study. Out of a total of 67 variables only four significant correlations emerged for the Bronx and seven for Harlem. All correlations were at the .05 level.

In just one instance did the same correlation hold for both areas. The question involved the organization felt to be doing the best job. The older respondents leaned more toward the NAACP and Urban League, while the younger said variously that all were making some contribution, none were doing good, or they selected the Panthers or Muslims. This is a fairly predictable finding it would seem.

In the Bronx there were three additional correlates with age; namely employment, elementary schools, and acceptance of whites. In employment and schools, the skewed distibution of frequencies diluted the meaning of the correlations. There were so few cases at the extreme ends of the scales that the relationship of these variables to age is distorted. In the third category of acceptance of whites there was a more normal distribution of cases, and the resulting interpretation is that the older respondents tended to be more accepting of whites than the younger.

In the Harlem sample, in addition to the one correlation already mentioned (organization doing the best job), there were five other correlates of significance. It was the older age group who felt that violence is inevitable in order to achieve civil rights for Negroes. This is a bit surprising--but one can only speculate as to why this feeling did not also correlate with the younger age groups.

The next two correlates regarding participation in demonstrations and attitudes toward the pace of racial progress, are more within the range of expectancy, as the younger ages reported more participation in demonstrations, and also felt Negroes were moving too slowly in their efforts to seek racial justice. In housing, the younger ages showed a greater desire for separatism in housing than did the older group, but it must be noted that there were only 31 who reported a wish for separate housing.

It was also the younger respondents who expressed more approval of the program of the Black Muslims. And lastly, it was again the younger group who stated more than the older ones, that they preferred their close personal friendships to be on an all black racial basis.

Since all the correlations for both Bronx and Harlem regarding age, were significant only at the .05 level, since there were more areas where no relationship was demonstrated rather than the reverse, and finally, since there was no universal pattern for the two areas which have proved to be somewhat similar in other attitudes--the conclusion to be drawn is that there is a weak relationship between age and attitude with a slightly stronger degree of evidence in Harlem than in the Bronx.

Predictability of Attitudes

The question of whether there is any means for setting up a profile whereby one might predict attitudes, was pertinent to this investigation. The following 15 descriptive variables of the respondents were correlated with the total integration vs. separatism score devised for each of the respondents.

List of 15 Demographic Variables

Sex
Birthplace
No. years in N. Y. C.
No. years in area
Marital status
Number of children
Age of respondent
SES
Occupation of respondent
Religious denomination
Church - Attendance
Sex of head of household
Occupation - head of household
Education - head of household
Income - head of household

Only two significant correlates emerged; one for the Bronx and one for Harlem and they were different for each area. In the Bronx, church attendance was significant (at the .05 level), meaning that those who attended church ranked closer to the separatism end of the scale than those who did not attend. High scores on the scale indicated integration and low scores indicated separatism ratings.

There were, however, three other correlates for the Bronx which were strong enough to suggest tendencies even though they were not statistically significant. They were as follows:

Age - those who were older ranked higher, or closer to the integration end of the scale.

Occupation of respondent - this was a negative correlation meaning that professionals ranked higher on the scale (toward integration) than non-professionals.

Religion - Catholics tended to rank closer to the integration end of the scale than did Protestants or other denominations.

In the Harlem group, the one significant correlation was age (.05 level), meaning, as explained earlier, the older the individual, the more he tended to want integration in all the six key areas. There were also three other Harlem correlates which were not statistically significant but which constituted tendencies worth noting.

Years in present area - This negative correlation meant that those living in the area the longest were more likely to opt for integration in all the six key areas.

Number of children - Another negative relationship indicating the fewer the offspring, the greater the desire for integration.

Birthplace - Also a negative correlate. Those born in the north were higher on the scale toward the integration end, than were those born in the south or elsewhere.

With only two variables showing a significant relationship to the integration vs. separatism scale; church attendance in the Bronx and age in Harlem, it cannot be said that there is any way--from these data--to predict attitudes from the demographic profile of the person. It is true that since almost everyone clustered at the integration end of the scale, it would seem to indicate that there should be some relationship to the demographic picture, but this did not materialize to any significant degree.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

Race relations, for the past 10 years has been the leading domestic issue of urban America. Whether the problem is articulated directly as race, or referred to as the problem of our cities, the increasing cost of welfare, urban renewal, school decentralization, etc., the strains of racial conflict have come to be the dominant element underlying any type of urban social planning. These conflicts are on the increase as various interest groups become more organized, more vocal, and ultimately, it seems, more and more polarized. The question is often asked--by Negroes and whites alike--what do Negroes really want? This question encompasses a variety of considerations, such as the major question of what is desired in terms of integration vs. separatism; to smaller concerns, such as by what label do they wish to be known (e.g. black, Negro, etc.). No one seems to be certain of the answers to these questions, and there is undoubtedly no one answer possible. Negro spokesmen presenting the most radical views tend to receive the widest publicity via the news media, and this exposure, on a repetitive basis does leave its mark, while the more moderate voices tend to be submerged, but what of the views of the masses?

This study, while recognizing the need to document more explicitly, the attitudes and goals of all Negroes, focusses on a New York Negro middle class sample, not only as the largest urban group of blacks who are in a position economically to make a few decisions as to where they will live and what kind of job setting they prefer--but also because they are probably the least heard from. This research endeavors to find out what such people want for themselves and for their children in terms of black-white relationships at this time; the beginning of the decade of the seventies.

One hundred Bronx and one hundred Harlem Negroes classified as having middle and upper level socio-economic status, were interviewed in person for this study. For analytical purposes the upper income groups were combined with the middle because of the similarity of life-styles as found between these levels in the Negro population. For the sake of convenience rather than for technical accuracy, all are referred to as the Negro middle class.

The middle class respondents ranged from 30-55 years in age, but the average was between 37-42 years for both Harlem and Bronx. There were slightly more females than males in the study. Most respondents were born in the south but had been living in New York for many years. The Harlem group had been in their immediate neighborhood much longer than the Bronx group. Probably the greatest difference was in the marital status as over half the Harlem group were single, widowed, or separated; whereas only 25 per cent of the Bronx group were. The second largest difference was that the heads of households in the Bronx were almost all male, but almost half in Harlem were female. Occupationally there were more blue collar workers in the Bronx and more professionals in Harlem. Logically related to this is the finding of slightly higher educational and financial attainment in Harlem. In both areas only 10 per cent of the respondents were unemployed homemakers. In summary, the groups were somewhat different demographically.

From the data we learn that both the Bronx and Harlem groups were very much "tuned in" on the current racial scene and spent a great deal of time discussing it. Economic opportunity, housing, and the school situation were the major subjects of interest at the time; however, the gap between discussion and activity was tremendous. A few held membership in the NAACP, but of the small number who were really active, and these were largely in Harlem, they usually belonged to some professional organization or club that engaged in civil rights activities. There was more dissatisfaction expressed about organizations felt not to be doing a good job, among the younger age Harlem respondents.

"Black" is the label by which both populations wanted most to be addressed; however, among those who preferred "Negro" the rejection of the use of "black" was often expressed most vehemently. This was a touchy subject either way.

On the question of integration vs. separatism in elementary schools, approximately half in each area preferred integration while another 20 per cent said it made no difference. Those wanting all black schools explained their choice as an interim necessary step for the present time, more than as a decision stemming from a philosophic belief in separatism. Again, the numbers choosing separatism were slightly more for Harlem than for the Bronx.

On the college level, 75 per cent of each group felt there is something unique to be gained in the all black college; namely a sense of identification, pride in black leadership, black studies, and social acceptance; however, this figure dropped to 25 per cent when asked if they would choose an all black college for their own child if faced with the decision. They felt the liabilities of separatism in higher education outweighed any benefits.

In employment the preference was overwhelmingly for integrated settings based on a philosophical--as opposed to opportunistic--belief in integration in this area, but once on the job, 20 per cent of the Harlem group preferred to spend their moments of relaxation with their own race in contrast to 10 per cent in the Bronx. Although working largely in integrated jobs by preference, almost half in each group felt there was discrimination in hiring or promotion policies where they worked.

In housing, the Bronx population selected their residences mostly out of a search for good housing rather than because of integration. Most social contacts in the neighborhood were with other Negroes, but the residential atmosphere was generally free of signs of resentment or hostility. The Harlem group, living in a non-integrated setting found much satisfaction in being with Negroes because of group identification and acceptance, but felt the services in the community were far below those available in other areas. Seventy-five per cent in the Bronx and 47 per cent in Harlem would select an integrated community if planning to move.

General attitudes included the belief by two-thirds of each group that young Negroes are moving toward separatism more than toward integration. In both Bronx and Harlem the data showed a down hill trend in the acceptance level of whites by Negroes. They felt violence is inevitable because they see the white man as almost totally intransigent otherwise. For this reason two-thirds in each area stated that the riots served a most useful purpose. Despite all this, the majority believe major clashes will one day diminish and people will learn to live together. There were 21 in the Bronx and 32 in Harlem, however, who felt that confrontation will always be with us.

Because of the diversity of responses given in many instances by the same individual, and ranging from a philosophic belief in integration, to opportunistic motivations, to non-committal answers and separatist views, all within the same interview, a Separatism Scale was devised. Responses to six key questions were rated on this scale and a total separatism score achieved for each person. The results of this global evaluation showed an overwhelming desire for integration as for both groups.

The relationship of age to attitude proved to be an unrewarding exploration. No pattern evolved but there was a weak relationship in some areas, more so in Harlem than in the Bronx.

These research findings showed an overwhelming desire in both the Bronx and Harlem populations for integration in employment, housing and schools. However the data do not demonstrate a desire for social relationships with whites. In analyzing the various types of social relationships there was more desire expressed to mingle with whites casually during periods of relaxation on the job or as they might meet in the neighborhood, than for the development of close personal friendships. On this close personal basis, the preference was for mostly all black friendships.

From these data no significant correlates emerged whereby a profile of demographic variables could be set up to predict attitudes.

In summary there is a moderate difference, both demographically and in the attitudes of the two groups. While the overwhelming response for integration applies to both groups, the Harlem population was slightly more dissatisfied with and less accepting of the behavior of whites and consequently, slightly more willing to go it alone.

Conclusions

In the introduction to this study it was suggested, in accordance with Gordon's theory of assimilation,[1] that American Negroes have not been structurally assimilated into American society. They have not entered into the "cliques, clubs and institutions on a primary group level."[2] The findings of this study indicate that for the group sampled, primary group intermingling with whites holds a minimum of interest. The respondents expressed a wish for inter-ethnic contacts at the secondary group level such as in employment and housing, but on a primary level they preferred to maintain separatism in most of their social contacts. There was a clear desire to preserve a single racial identity in these areas. In their casual social contacts with whites whom they might get to know by virtue of living in the same neighborhood or working together at the same place of employment, socializing on an interracial basis was quite acceptable and desirable. But when it came to the question of choosing one's close personal friends, this group preferred the company of other Negroes, almost exclusively. The findings indicate a sense of black identification and solidarity as shown by the wish to be called black, the general feeling that all civil rights organizations are helping to some degree, and the endorsement of "black power" (e.g. the development of black ownership and leadership). There was pride in the concept of the advancement of black people as black people--rather than in advancement which might be achieved by imitating whites. This concept does not conflict with the overwhelming desire expressed to function in an integrated society. It is simply an assertion of--and an acceptance of--one's ethnic identity.

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[1] Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 76.

[2] Ibid., p. 71.

The great focus of E. Franklin Frazier in his book Black Bourgeoisie,[1] was on the collective inferiority complex of the Negro middle classes resulting from rejection by the white world, and a break with the lower classes which left them in a state of limbo or cultural isolation. Much has been written about the devaluated self-image of

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[1] E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe: Illinois Free Press).

Negroes; of how because the Negro sees himself as the white man sees him, the image is inferior and the Negro ends up hating himself most of all. This is what appears to have changed. Not dramatically or conclusively, but it has changed. It appears to be changing for all Negroes but this study highlights the new outlook as it is developing in a gradual way, within the middle class in two distinct neighborhoods.

The middle income Negro who formerly repressed his aggression against whites, turning it inward toward himself or downward to his poorer brother--became somewhat different through the period of the sixties. He acquired new characteristics never attributed to him before. He developed "black pride," a belief in "black power," and he now believes "black is beautiful!" At the same time these new beliefs do not conflict with a desire to move freely throughout society, participating fully in all the functional areas of living in these United States. But as he moves, he wants now more than ever before to preserve and separate his ethnic identity--on a voluntary basis.

The idea of a racial identity (or self concept) of which one can be proud appears to have supplanted the former emphasis of black people on the rise, to imitate whites in every way possible. This study group was not so concerned with being liked by whites and in turn was less accepting of them than they used to be.

The data of this report indicates a change in the middle class Negro population interviewed in this study, from the middle class as described by Frazier. The change is not so much in what they want--but what they are. That the black race as a whole in America, has changed, has been apparent for the last 10 years or more, but most of the elements of change have been attributed largely to students and to organizations where the activist roles are assumed largely by those below the age of 30. The day to day process of the civil rights revolution has been a youth movement despite the influence and inspiration of many dedicated older persons in positions of leadership. This is an inevitable situation which will no doubt continue.

More recently, the low income Negro--particularly those in ghetto areas, have come into focus through programs designed to give them a voice in shaping their destinies. But the "over thirty," comparatively secure members of the Negro middle class, have traditionally been inactive in civil rights endeavors over the years, at least in the degree that we see activity today, and these data show they are continuing in the same role. However, the make-up of the man as seen in this study population is not the same and indirectly he too appears to have become an instrument for bringing about societal change.

It has become almost an overnight passion to uncover and expand the black cultural heritage. This group of respondents displayed a strong feeling of unity with other blacks in contrast to the feeling of detachment, and at times disdain, which formerly characterized middle class attitudes toward the much larger group of low-income Negroes.

The same fundamental need to develop an ethnic ego has led to the move toward black nationalism as expressed by the advocates of separate black institutions within our society.

Roy Innis, present director of CORE, is probably the most vocal in supporting a theory of separatism. His motivation is largely defensive as he wrote in a newspaper article, "a society that is both violent and racist can quite easily decide upon genocidal solutions to social problems."[1] In a succeeding article he continued as he rejected segregation and integration. "Black Power advocates see a third way: separation . . . (with integration) the races would no longer be separated; white domination of blacks will remain because the institutions, goods and services in an integrated area will be controlled by the majority group--the whites. . . . The alternative, (separatism) means that blacks will control the flow of goods and services."[2]

The Black Muslim movement which seeks territorial separation for black people argues vehemently against the "evils" of assimilation and subsequent loss of identity. Elijah Muhammad, the Muslims' spiritual leader, has plans for the establishment of a black republic to be carved out of the United States. Failing that, as he pragmatically predicts he will, he suggests a homeland somewhere in the Arab regions of the East.[3]

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[1] Roy Innis (ed.), *The Manhattan Tribune* (New York), December 28, 1968, p. 10.

[2] Roy Innis (ed.), *The Manhattan Tribune* (New York), February 1, 1969, p. 12.

[3] E. U. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism* (Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 286-287.

Both plans for separating from the rest of society were totally rejected by the middle class group studied here. More than ever they see the importance of black ownership of businesses, but the purpose would be to gain the economic power and personal pride that would permit a truly equal place in the overall system. There was a clear demonstration of hope and belief in this study group that this is not just a dream but with new techniques of fighting, a real possibility. The "American Dream" now rests on the realization that it is not necessary for a people to submerge the qualities that make them different in order to participate in the system.

The result of the change in Negroes seems to lie in a shift of goals. Throughout this study the responses pointed to a verbalized commitment to integration as opposed to separatism, but what the respondents seemed more to be describing was a desire for cultural pluralism.

Integration as Yinger states, "carries to some degree a connotation of assimilation: the loss of separating group identities, with differentiation only on an individual basis."[1] Nothing could be farther from the case today with blacks everywhere--middle class included.

Gordon believes that structural assimilation to any great degree has not taken place in America with any group. He describes the American pattern in this way. "Each ethnic group contains the usual class divisions, and the behavior patterns of the members of the same class are very similar . . . but separated by the invisible but powerful barriers of ancestral identification and belief, they carry out their intimate life in the separate compartments of ethnicity which make up the vertical dimensions of the American social structure. The only substantial exception to this picture of ethnic separation is the compartment marked 'intellectuals and artists.'"[1] What Gordon is describing is cultural pluralism.

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[1] J. Milton Yinger, A Minority Group in American Society (New York: McGraw-Hill), p. 78.

As this writer views the situation, this new enthusiasm for cultural preservation and ethnic identity by Negroes is no more than a belated falling into line with what every group coming to America has always done. The melting pot theory has never seen fruition among the many groups in the large cities of this country, and most particularly in New York. It has been the view of most of white society that blacks are inferior and are to be discriminated against, that has caused them to try to submerge their differences and be like the oppressor. But once having begun to throw off the shackles that interfered with self-pride, Negroes, like others seek a group identification. In the past the group identification has borne a negative concept. This study group illustrated a positive self-concept.

Broom and Glenn speak of the developments that have helped to bring about the throwing off of these shackles. "Among the contributing factors are the publicity given to the scientific view that Negroes are not innately inferior, the emergence of the free Negro states in

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[1] Milton M. Gordon, *Ibid.*, p. 111.

Africa, and the more benevolent policies of the federal and many state governments. Increased self-esteem, in turn has tended to make the Negro ambitions, more optimistic, and less willing to submit to discrimination. . . ."[1] The living room television set should be added as a major factor as well, for it, more than any other medium, has educated the Negro and showed him not only what is happening, but what he's been missing!

The reality of cultural pluralism is not as easily achievable for blacks as for other groups in America because of deeply established patterns of prejudice and discrimination. This study group as a whole, did not foresee what they termed integration, as occurring in their lifetime, but it is their goal that it will happen eventually.

The findings of this study cannot be projected with certainty to middle class Negroes in other northern urban neighborhoods. It is reasonable to assume, however, since nearly every major city across the country has been beseiged with racial unrest over the past few years, and since the conflicts seem to involve the same basic problems of jobs, housing, and education; that replication of this research would find the attitudes elsewhere fairly similar.

It has long been a cliche in Negro circles that "black people never stick together." This is not so true any more. The middle class Negro, like other middle class people, is not and probably never will be an activist in the move toward change--but his changed inner motivation has made him more assertive and more self assured. This, in turn, has enabled him to broaden his personal horizons, and on a cumulative basis--this adds up to a powerful force for change.

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[1] Leonard Broom and Norval Glenn, Transformation of the Negro American (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 34.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE RESPONSE OF THE LOW INCOME GROUP

The low-income data will be given brief attention only, as they are not part of the purpose for which this study was conceived, and because as an inadvertently obtained sub-group, their numbers are too small to be of real significance. There is a third reason as well, and this was mentioned in the methodology. Although labeled correctly as a low socio-economic status group, these respondents were interviewed because they lived in middle-class residences and followed the behavior patterns of their middle-class neighbors. They were fully accepted as middle class members of the community. It was the combination of two or more incomes in the household that accounted for their situations in most cases. These individuals cannot, however, according to the criteria set up for this study, be called middle class; neither do they fit the lower class profile. They do, in fact, comprise a nether group which really has no name, but which closely approximates the middle class. They are presented here briefly, to determine if their occupations and incomes, which are on a much lower level for the head of the household, than for the middle class group, may possibly be reflected in a difference in attitudes. Again it is stressed that only an indication can be sought--not a conclusion--because of the small numbers involved.

There were 21 low SES respondents in the Bronx; seven males and 14 females. In Harlem there were 11 males and 14 females. In each area

(Bronx and Harlem), 11 persons were born in the south but all had been in New York at least 10 years. In the Bronx, 16 of the 21 had male heads of the household, and in Harlem, 11 of the 15 household heads were males.

None of these household heads in either group earned over $7,000 per year and all worked in blue collar trades. It is to be remembered (see methodology) that the heads of the household were not necessarily the respondents interviewed, and the occupations of the 18 employed Bronx respondents included one professional classification and seven clerical workers as well as service and blue collar occupations. The professional person was a woman of West Indian descent who was a claims investigator. Her husband, the head of the household, worked as a waiter. She had lived in New York for 39 years and the family owned their own home and car. They had a son in college.

There were no professionals in the Harlem group of 15, however, one woman worked in a low managerial position. She, too, was of West Indian descent but had lived in New York for all her 42 years. A word should be said here, perhaps, about West Indians as a group. It has long been recognized--and is a source of pride among them--that West Indians have a tradition of thrift and ambition. This has caused friction at times with their Afro-American brothers, as they are sometimes accused of acting superior to American Negroes, referring to them as lazy and as not practicing thrift. It is true that the West Indian background in the islands did not consist of the same degree of psychological oppression which created the "hat in hand, self-effacement, and inferior attitudes of some American blacks. The West Indian has always held his head high and proudly. This does make for differences. There were three West Indians and four of West Indian descent in this low-income sample. (There were 32 altogether in the middle class group.)

Activity in Racial Affairs

If anything, this group was even less active in racial affairs than the middle income group, although they expressed the same concern about the subject and said they talked about the problem often. Three Bronx residents belonged to the NAACP and one was a Black Muslim (the only one in the entire study). In the Harlem sample, one woman belonged to a special interest group.

Seven Bronxites had been in a civil rights demonstration of some kind as had two in Harlem.

Opinions of Civil Rights Organizations

These respondents preferred the NAACP as the civil rights group doing the best job (Bronx 12, Harlem eight), and the second choice was SCLC (Bronx three, Harlem five). They were just about evenly split in their choices for types of organization not doing a good job. Nine in the Bronx and six in Harlem opposed organizations that preach hate and violence and cited the Muslims and Panthers as examples. Eight others in the Bronx and five in Harlem felt all were helping to some degree.

The Pace of Racial Progress

"Just right" was the most frequent reply to the question of whether

Negroes are trying to move too slow, too fast, or just right.

Eleven in the Bronx and seven in Harlem gave this response while seven others in the Bronx and three in Harlem said "too slow." The rest (three Bronx and five Harlem) said "too fast." Just as the answers approximate those of the larger sample, so did the reasons why.

"Just right" responses

"You have to take time to accomplish your goal."

"We need more educated Negroes to do the job in order to move faster, but we are moving just right."

"Too slow" responses

"We seem to hit a point and stop. We should push more."

"I don't see why we have to move slow after all, we don't have to earn our rights!"

"Too fast" responses

"Because we are not educated to go at these things right--not yet."

"Current activity just started. Pace is too fast for the beginning. People will get disgusted."

Fourteen in the Bronx and four in Harlem felt violence is inevitable to accomplish racial goals.

Black vs. Negro

The same results, essentially, were found for this group as for the middle class group. "Black" was the chosen word (11 Bronx, six Harlem). Negro was the second choice with six in each area selecting it. One Bronx person wanted to be called colored, one in each borough chose Afro-American, and two in the Bronx did not care. There was one

Bronxite who rejected all the labels saying, "I would rather just be called an American. I was born an American and I am as much an American as anybody."

Concerning Employment

Seventeen of the 18 employed Bronx respondents worked in an integrated setting and 13 of them were satisfied with this arrangement. Two said they preferred to be with their own race, and for two there was no data as to preference. Thirteen in Harlem, of the 14 working people, were in integrated work situations and one reported dissatisfaction with this, preferring to be with Negroes only. The reasons given for wanting all black settings typically referred to feeling "more comfortable" this way.

Over half the workers in each sector (15 Bronx, nine Harlem) socialized just as much with whites as with Negroes on the job.

The same feeling of insecurity as seen with the middle class, regarding hiring and promotion policies, pertained to this group as well. Seven in the Bronx and five in Harlem felt there was definitely discrimination on the job. Another five in the Bronx and two in Harlem felt there might be but were not quite certain. Only five people in each area believed such discrimination did not exist where they were employed.

Attitudes Toward Housing

As with the larger sample, the two low-income groups were asked different questions regarding housing, since one neighborhood was integrated and the other was not.

The Bronx findings were similar to the Bronx middle class sample.

Eleven said their move to the area was not motivated by a desire to live in an integrated area, whereas the remaining 10 did move with this in mind. Of the 10, seven believed philosophically in integrated neighborhoods and three moved for the opportunistic reasons quoted below.

> "I felt I would get better city services from the tax dollar and there were enough Negroes to feel comfortable."
>
> "I wasn't looking to live with whites, I guess I knew in a white neighborhood it would be kept up better."
>
> "You get a better neighborhood when its mixed because everyone takes care of their property better."

Most of the social life--visiting back and forth, was with fellow Negroes. A third of this Bronx group (seven respondents) reported having noticed signs of resentment or hostility by whites at some time in their immediate living area.

In the Harlem group only 5 saw any advantage in living in a non-integrated area. Four of these felt a kinship, or identity with the people, and the fifth said a person had to create his own advantages and if he tried--this was quite possible. Seven persons felt there were no advantages to report while three could not decide. Fourteen of the 15 did describe disadvantages with poor services, housing, stores, etc., heading the list. Most of them (11 in all) also felt that services in their community were less than those provided in predominantly white neighborhoods.

Almost everyone (17 Bronx, 13 Harlem) said if they were planning to move and could select housing anywhere in the city, they would choose an integrated area.

The School Situation

The ideal elementary school in the minds of this group, is an integrated one with a good teaching staff. Fifteen in the Bronx and 8 in Harlem believed in this plan of integration on a philosophical basis. Two others in Harlem wanted integrated schools for opportunistic reasons as illustrated below:

> "Because many white children are more advanced and the black child could learn from his peers."
>
> "The white schools have better facilities to work with."

There were also two respondents, both in the Bronx, who supported all black schools because of a philosophical belief in separatism.

> "They develop pride in their own; not made to feel inferior."
>
> "We belong with our own kind."

These two respondents were asked why they were living in integrated neighborhoods. Both said they were not happy to be in this situation, but were unable to move for a variety of circumstantial reasons.

The question of whether the Negro college has something special to offer a black student was answered in the affirmative by 11 in the Bronx and six in Harlem. The negative count was six for the Bronx and seven in Harlem, and the rest (four Bronx, two Harlem) didn't know. But whereas a total of 17 in both areas found something unique, only nine (five Bronx, four Harlem) would elect to send their own offspring to an all black college in preference to an integrated one.

Attitudes at Large

Just three individuals in the Bronx and three in Harlem felt the youth of today desire integration. Nine in the Bronx and eight in

Harlem believed the youth were moving more toward the idea of separation. The rest were not sure.

With regard to discrimination against other minorities in this country as practiced by whites, the attitudes of this group were pretty much like those of the larger sample. Only the Puerto Ricans and American Indians were felt to be treated as badly or worse than Negroes. The same feeling noted in the middle class group that "If you're white, you're all right," led them to believe that Jews and poor whites in the south are much better off than the other minorities discussed here.

The fantasy question posed regarding the respondents' choice of a country anywhere in the world to live for a year showed five persons choosing Africa (three Bronx, two Harlem), and the rest, except for three who could not make any selection, picking a country usually in western Europe.

Did "Afro" clothing and hairstyles inspire this group? For nine in the Bronx and four in Harlem the reply was "yes," but for 12 others in the Bronx and 11 in Harlem, the answer was "no."

The term "Black Power," as with the main sample, meant for the majority (14 Bronx, six Harlem) self held and control of institutions, and was therefore regarded as a positive phenomenon in their view.

Only one person (the Muslim in the Bronx) flatly opposed intermarriage between Negroes and whites. Seven in the Bronx and 14 in Harlem said "yes" to this question and the rest were unsure. The predominating comment regarding intermarriage was "to each his own." The comment of the Muslim woman in rejecting this idea was "It doesn't work and shouldn't work."

Most (10 Bronx, nine Harlem) felt the riots of the past couple of years have helped the Negro cause. Four others in the Bronx and five in Harlem believed Negroes were hurt by this. Two were not sure and five Bronxites and one Harlemite said the riots both helped and hurt. The main reason for saying the riots helped was because they brought needed services and action to the black community.

Social Relationships and Feelings Toward Whites

The entire sample reported that their personal social relationships were all, or mostly with other Negroes. Half the Bronx group (10 respondents) and a third of the Harlem sample (five respondents) said "all Negro." While most of the remarks on this subject related to how individuals acquired their white friends (ex: through job contacts, etc.), one man's remarks were: "I have a few white friends who think like me and who are not there (in my home) writing their book."

On the question of feeling toward white people in general, there was greater acceptance by this group than by the middle class. (This difference might not show up, however, with a larger sample of low-income respondents.) Twelve in the Bronx and nine in Harlem were generally accepting of whites and seven in the Bronx and six in Harlem described themselves as somewhat accepting. Only two Bronx respondents were reported as generally rejecting of whites. Again, however, there was a change over the last five years in the way some people felt. Ten persons were less accepting five years ago than they were when interviewed, and three others said they were more accepting at the earlier date.

This indicates an upward trend in acceptance but the figures are too small to draw any assumptions from this.

The Choice for the Future

There seemed to be a little more optimism in the Harlem group from their response to the question of whether they believed Negroes and whites will ever get along without major clashes. Fourteen of the 21 Bronx respondents said "yes," but 13 of the 15 Harlemites felt this way. Five Bronx people said "no" as did two in Harlem, and two others in the Bronx were unsure. An illustration of the negative response of one Bronx woman is quoted: "The white man will never be able to accept us. The more we tear down the barriers, the harder it is for him to give up what he thinks is his."

One of the key integration vs. separatism questions concerned interviewee opinion regarding complete separation of the races within the United States. Fifteen in the Bronx (out of 21), rejected this notion, asserting a philosophical belief in integration. Three others said it just wouldn't work. Two espoused a philosophy of separatism and endorsed the idea, while one could give no answer. In the Harlem group, nine of the 15 philosophically supported integration, and therefore opposed this suggestion while four others said it just wouldn't work. One did not have an answer to this question.

On the question of formation of a separate black state, two in the Bronx (philosophical belief in separatism) supported this idea. The rest did not, most saying it just would never work.

The final question as to who holds the key to improving conditions for Negroes revealed that most of this population (11 Bronx, seven Harlem), felt the responsibility was equally divided between blacks and whites. There were four others in the Bronx and three in Harlem who maintained that the black man holds the key, while four more in the Bronx and five in Harlem gave the responsibility to whites. Two others had no answer.

These findings for the low-income group, as the reader can now see, are scarcely distinguishable from those presented for the middle class. It may be assumed that the differences in income and occupation of the heads of households in this population do not reflect changes in attitudes from those in the middle class sample.

APPENDIX B

THE INTERVIEWER QUESTIONNAIRE

A little has already been said in the methodology section about the interviewers in this study and the concern over whether the expected differences in age, attitudes and even manner of dress, might have an influence on the quality of responses obtained. Because of careful orientation, and because, as it turned out, this subject of current racial issues was a "hot issue" with the respondents; the data appeared to be freely given and without interviewer influence.

But because the interviewers were also Negro and therefore also deeply involved in the subject matter it was of interest to find out some of their thinking about the experience as a whole, as well as some of their observations about the atmosphere which prevailed during the interview. Ten interviewers, one of whom was the author of this report, completed a Brief Interview Questionnaire at the end of the data collection period. The first four questions with the average for each response are presented below.

1. How would you describe the people you interviewed?

Extremely interested in subject	93%	(1)
Quite interested in subject	7	(2)
Somewhat interested in subject	0	(3)
Disinterested in subject	0	(4)
Total	100%	

2. How would you describe the overall mood of those you interviewed, toward the racial situation today?

Angry	22	(1)
Quietly spirited (but not angry)	58	(2)
Quietly concerned	20	(3)
Somewhat detached in attitude	0	(4)
Total	100%	

3. Since you were given the option of interviewing the respondent with or without family members present, would you answer the following?

   a. Roughly what % was interviewed in each way?

Interviewed alone	85	(1)
With family present	15	(2)
Total	100%	

   b. Did you feel there was any difference in the way people responded in interviews held under either condition?

Didn't notice any difference	7	(1)
I did notice a difference	3	(2)

Check one only. If (2) is check, please

explain ______________________________

Three interviewers felt there was a difference in the interviews held with and without other family members present. Their explanations are quoted.

> "Interviews with the family present necessitated more control. Discussion both during and after tended to be more spirited and with much more discussion."

> "When the family's teen-age children were present, the parents were careful how they answered questions and it was obvious at

> times that there were differences of opinion with the children."
>
> "Discussions with family present were occasionally more fruitful in a few cases, as the others seemed to stimulate the respondent to say more than he would otherwise."

4. Did any of your respondents want to continue the discussion after the interview questions were completed?

Had no additional comments	5%	(1)
Had a few additional comments	15	(2)
Had a great deal more to say	80	(3)
Total	100%	

As the reader can see, the interviewers described their subjects as highly interested and quite spirited in responding to the questions. The most interesting aspect of the Interviewer Questionnaire, however, was the expression of feelings by the interviewers themselves in answer to the final question on the questionnaire.

5. Did you have any particular thoughts of your own as you were doing these interviews . . . or now that you have finished doing them, which you would care to share? (Example: Were the interviews in any way upsetting, or stimulating, or boring, etc. Did you find most people felt as you do on this subject or were you surprised at the opinions expressed, etc. Please write anything you wish in the space below.

   Note: Your comments may be used in the final report but, of course, your name will not be used.

Most of the interviewers wrote at least a half page reply to this question; therefore only excerpts from a few are possible in this report.

> "I felt it was a very interesting interview and most of the respondents were quite interested and stimulated. I am concerned that so few of the middle class blacks are actively involved in doing anything about civil rights and that so few have participated in anything since the early 60's. . . . I felt 'tho, it was a very positive experience to see so many

> people identifying with Black and Blackness. The thing now is to get more of us involved in the struggle or to pray for an early death!"
>
> "Many of the people interviewed had never given most of the questions serious thought and had to take the time to really think and question their own attitudes."
>
> "Many of the questions I had been asking myself for a long time. Through their responses I recognized I am not alone in thinking confrontation is the best method to bring about change. It was strange getting the feedback from people. Many times I could feel the togetherness between me and the person I was interviewing. It was so beautiful!"
>
> "The responses differed from what I'd expect from my own age group (22). They represented 'comfortable' middle-class, middle-aged opinion at times, but I was surprised to hear from all the blacks interviewed, a certain hostile resentment. . . . It does seem that this group shares the Black experience!"
>
> "On several occasions interviewees stated they achieved further crystallization of their thoughts as the result of the interview, and I found the interaction between them and me very stimulating."
>
> "I was shocked that so many in this day and age have never walked a picket line or demonstrated for the betterment of their less fortunate brothers. They verbalize concern but are doing nothing! Middle class Negroes are too conservative!"
>
> "I was surprised at the amount of hostility towards whites expressed, and the amount of confusion in peoples' minds as they say they want integration in one thing and separation in another."

It does appear as if the interview experience was not only interesting for the interviewers but surprisingly enlightening. Some seemed to feel the "generation gap"--at least as it pertains to racial attitudes is not as wide as they had anticipated. Where the interviewers differed from the respondents seemed to be in the area of action, rather than in attitudes and ultimate goals.

APPENDIX C
Interview Schedule
RESEARCH STUDY
MIDDLE CLASS NEGRO ATTITUDES
ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY

B. Ruth Powell

Research No. ____________

Interviewer ____________

Name ____

Street ____

Bronx ____________(1) Harlem ____________(2) Other ____________(3)

Type Residence:

Apartment ______(1) Priv. House Rental Apt. ________(2) Priv. H. Owner ____________(3)

INFORMATION BELOW APPLIES TO RESPONDENT

Sex: Male ________(1) Female ____________(2)

Birthplace: North ____________(1) (state) South ____________(2) (state)

W.I. __________(3) (island) American-born, W.I. descent __________(4) (state)

Other __________(5) (where)

No. yrs. NYC ________ No. yrs. present area ______________

Marital Status: Single _____(1) Marr. _____(2) Wid. _____(3) Div. or Sep. ______(4)

Number of children of Respondent ________

Age of Respondent

30 - 36 years _____(1)

37 - 42 years _____(2)

43 - 48 years _____(3)

49 - 55 years _____(4)

Occupation of Respondent

List ____________________ (include homemaker)

Religion: Cath. _____(1) Prot. _____(2)
Other ____________________(3)

Attends church: Occas. ___(1) Reg. ___(2)
Never ____(3)

INFORMATION BELOW APPLIES TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD ONLY

Head of Household is: Male ____________(1) Female ____________(2)

Occupation: ____

Education Completed

Some grammar school _____(1)
Grammar school grad. _____(2)
Some high school _____(3)
High school grad. _____(4)
Some college _____(5)
College grad.(+) _____(6)

Income

0 - $ 3,999 _____(1)
4 - 6,999 _____(2)
7 - 9,999 _____(3)
10 - 12,999 _____(4)
13 - 15,999 _____(5)
16 - over _____(6)

1. Do you find yourself discussing the racial situation very much these days?

   a. Never________(1) Occas.________(2) Often________(3)

   If Subject is Discussed:

   b. Do you discuss it mostly in your own home, with outsiders, or both?

   Home________(1) Outsiders________(2) Both________(3)

   c. What area(s) of race relations in particular do you find yourself talking about mostly, right now? (Get actual words as much as possible ______

   ____

   ____

   ____

2. Are you personally active in any group(s) which deal directly or indirectly with race relations? (Get type of organization and type of activity related to race relations)

	Type of Org. (Lodge, etc.)	Type of Activity
a.		
b.		
c.		

3. If you had to name the civil rights organization you feel is doing the best job, which one would you select?

   Name______________________________________

   Why_______________________________________

   ____

4. Are there any organizations dealing with race relations that you consider are not doing a good job? Yes ________(1) No ________(2)

   If yes, why? ____________________________________

   ____

5. Do you feel Negroes can accomplish their goals without violence or do you believe violence is inevitable/

without violence ________________ (1)

violence is inevitable __________ (2) because: _________________________

____

____

6. Have you ever taken part in a civil rights demonstration of any kind?

Yes __________ (1) No __________ (2)

If yes, for what ____

7. With all the trouble that has been going on, do you feel Negroes are trying to move too fast, too slow or just about right?

too slow __________ (1) just right __________ (2) too fast __________ (3)

Why do you say that? ____

____

____

8. Of the following terms, which would you prefer to be called?

Afro-American __________

Black __________

Negro __________

Colored __________

African-American __________

Why? ____

____

____

IF NOT EMPLOYED - SKIP TO QUESTION NO. 12

9. IF EMPLOYED: Do you work in an integrated setting? Yes_____(1) No_____(2)

Does this meet with your preference if you could push a magic button?

Yes __________(1) No __________(2)

Comments, if any ____

____

____

10. IF WORKS IN INTEGRATED SETTING: (Questions 10 & 11)

a. Approximately what percentage of the people are Negro in the place where you work?

Percentage __________

b. Do you socialize as much with your white co-workers as you do with the Negroes on your job? (Going to lunch, etc.)

None or scarcely at all __________ (1)

Just as much as with Negroes __________ (2)

More than with other Negroes __________ (3)

(If 1 or 3) Is there any special reason why?) ______________________________

____

____

11. Do you believe there is any discrimination in the hiring or promotion policies where you work?

Yes __________(1) No __________(2) Not sure __________(3)

If yes, explain ____

____

____

____

CONTINUE FOR ALL RESPONDENTS

12. If you were planning to move, and could find the housing you want anywhere in the city, would you rather live in a neighborhood with all Negro families, or Negroes and whites?

Negroes _______ (1) Negroes & Whites _______ (2) Not sure __________ (3)

Why do you feel this way? ____

____

____

IF LIVING IN INTEGRATED AREA NOW (QUESTIONS 13, 14 & 15)

13. Did the fact that this is an integrated area play any part in your decision to move here?

Played no part in decision __________ (1)

It was a factor in decision __________ (2)

Comments, if any ____

____

14. a. Do you have Negro friends in the neighborhood?

No friends __________ (1)

Only to speak to on street__________ (2)

Visit back and forth __________ (3)

b. Do you have white friends in the neighborhood?

No friends __________ (1)

Only to speak to on street__________ (2)

Visit back and forth __________ (3)

15. Have you noticed any sign of resentment or hostility by whites toward Negroes living in this neighborhood? Yes _____ (1) No _____ (2)

Comments ____

IF LIVING IN ALL NEGRO AREA (QUESTIONS 16 & 17)

(Otherwise skip to Question No. 18)

16. What do you feel are the advantages and disadvantages of living in an all Negro community? (State none for either category if applicable)

Advantages ______________________________

____

____

Disadvantages ______________________________

____

____

17. Do you feel that the services such as street cleaning and garbage pick-up, in this neighborhood, are equal to those in predominantly white neighborhoods?

Yes __________ (1) No __________ (2) Don't know __________ (3)

ASK ALL RESPONDENTS

18. Do you feel Negro children would do better in all Negro schools if they had a good teaching staff?

All Negro __________ (1) Negro & White __________ (2)

Makes no difference __________ (3) Not sure __________ (4)

Comments, if any ____

____

____

19. Do you feel the youth of today (those under 21) are moving more toward the idea of integration or separation in schools and housing?

Integration __________(1) Separation __________(2) Not sure ____________(3)

Comments, if any ____

____

____

20. Roy Innis, of Core, advocates complete separation of the races within our society. Do you feel this might be a solution to the race problem?

Offers solution ____(1) Not a solution ____(2) Not sure ____(3)

Comments, if any ____

____

21. The Black Muslim movement believes that a separate black state offers the ultimate solution. If this became possible, would you feel you had a better or worse chance at life's opportunities in such a state?

Better chance _____(1) Worse chance _____(2) Not sure _____(3)

Why do you say this? ____

____

22. On the whole, from what you know of the Black Muslim movement, do you approve or disapprove of their program?

Approve _________(1) Disapprove _________(2) No opinion ___________(3)

Explain ____

____

____

IF RESPONDENT ADVOCATES COMPLETE SEPARATISM, SKIP QUESTIONS 23-25

23. Do you feel it will ever be possible in this country for Negroes and Whites to get along without major clashes?

a. Yes ________(1) No ________(2) Not sure ________(3)

b. If no, what do you think will cause these clashes? ________________

____

____

24. Do you believe in intermarriage between Negroes and whites?

Yes ________(1) No ________(2) Not sure ________(3)

Comments, if any ________________________________

____

____

25. Do you believe the predominantly Negro college, such as Howard, has something to offer the black student which he can't get at a predominantly white college? If so, what?

a. Yes ________(1) No ________(2) Don't know ________(3)

Explain ________________________________

____

____

b. Would you prefer a predominantly black college for your child if faced with this decision today?

Yes ________(1) No ________(2) Don't know ________(3)

ASK ALL RESPONDENTS

26. If you had the opportunity to live for a year in a foreign country, which country would you choose?

Country ______________________ Why ____________________________________

____

____

27. When you see Negroes dressed in African clothing or wearing their hair in the Afro style, does this give you a feeling of racial pride?

Yes __________(1) No __________(2)

28. When you hear the term "Black Power", what does it mean to you? (Get actual words, if possible)

a. ____

____

____

b. According to your definition, is black power a good or bad thing?

Good __________(1) Bad __________(2) Not sure __________(3)

29. In general, as you think of the whole country, would you say racial conditions for Negroes have improved very little, quite a bit or a whole lot?

Very little __________(1) Quite a bit __________(2) A whole lot ________(3)

Why? ____

____

30. Do you think the riots of the past couple of years have helped or hurt Negroes?

Helped __________(1) Hurt __________(2) Not sure __________(3)

Why? ____

____

31. How would you describe your feelings toward white people in general? Would you say you are:

Generally accepting of them as a group ______________________ (1)

Somewhat accepting of them as a group ______________________ (2)

Generally rejecting of them as a group ______________________ (3)

32. Would you say your feeling toward whites has changed in any way over the last five years?

a. Yes __________(1) No __________(2) Not sure _________(3)

b. If yes, five years ago I felt: ______________________________________

____

How would you compare Negroes with the following groups with regard to discrimination in this country?

	Better off	Same	Worse off
Puerto Ricans are	__________(1)	__________(1)	__________(1)
Jews are	__________(2)	__________(2)	__________(2)
Poor whites in south are	__________(3)	__________(3)	__________(3)
American Indians are	__________(4)	__________(4)	__________(4)

34. Who holds the key to improving the condition of Negroes in this country? Is it mostly the black man, mostly the white man, or equally for both?

Black__________(1) White__________(2) Equal__________(3) Both___________(4)

Why ____

____

____

35. Would you say your personal friends-- those you would invite to dinner or to a party-- are:

All Negro ________ (1)

Mostly Negro ________ (2)

Mostly white ________ (3)

All white ________ (4)

Comments, if any ____

____

____

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